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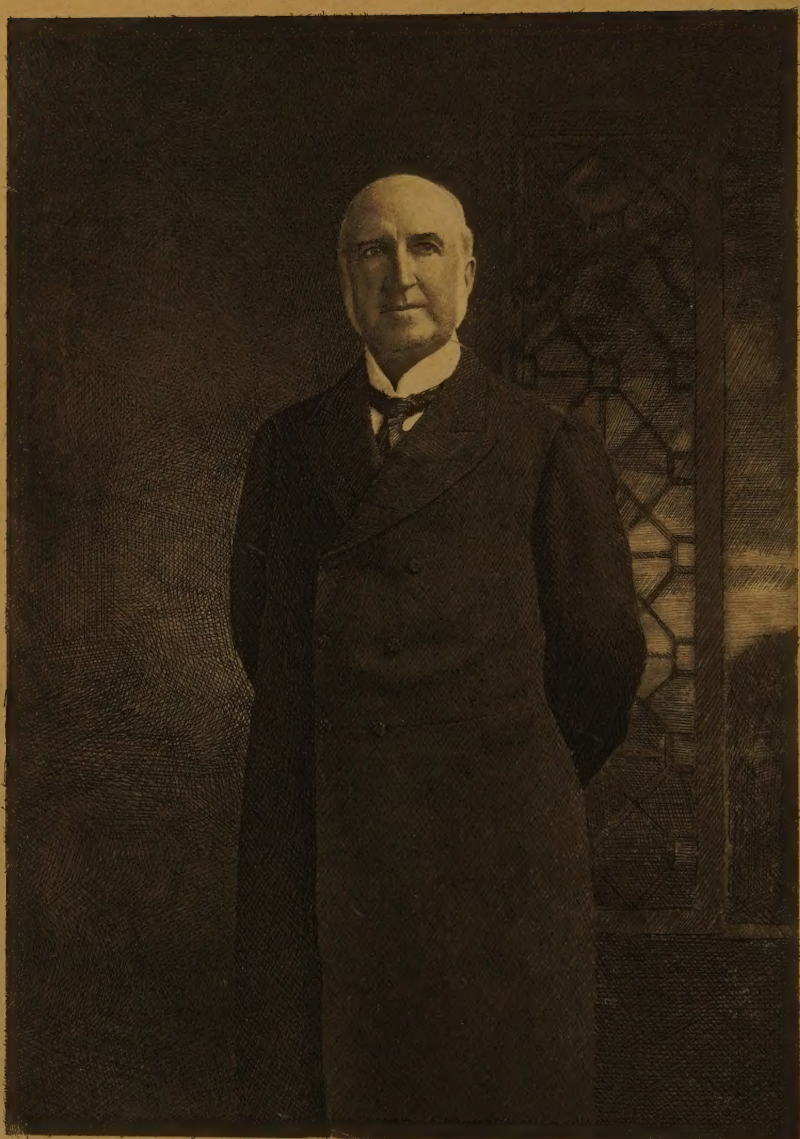
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THE LIBRARY OF ORATORY

Ancient and Modern

with CRITICAL STUDIES *of the*
WORLD'S GREAT ORATORS
by EMINENT ESSAYISTS

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Edition de Luxe

IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME I.

ILLUSTRATED

PUBLISHED BY

E. R. DU MONT

NEW YORK

CHICAGO

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EDITORIAL FOREWORD.

Real oratory is one of Heaven's gifts which a man may well pray for. The gift of speaking—of being able to make people listen to what you say; of inspiring men with ideals and convincing them of truth—surely than this no more superb work a man can have. The writer hides his face—though not his heart—behind his book. The orator must show his face, and if he be an orator in very deed, his will be a greater triumph than that of the writer, even though it be a more ephemeral one. It is easy to open the soul on paper, but to speak the truth elegantly, forcefully, convincingly before an audience of one's fellow men requires at all times ability and self-control, and, in many cases, courage of a high order.

The orator must speak from a full mind. He must know thoroughly the subject he is discussing; and not only that subject, but the collateral topics which would enliven it, or illustrate it, or make it clearer. Then comes the absolute necessity of lucidity. A man of even less information, with the ability to state his views so that the ordinary understanding immediately comprehends his thought, will distance in debate a very much better-equipped antagonist. The orator must have a natural gift. But most people of quick minds and ripe culture can become good speakers. There is, however, a great difference between good speaking and oratory. There is a personal magnetism about an orator which cannot be defined. It is something in the voice or manner which establishes a connection between the audience and the speaker. The best example of that I have ever seen in America was Wendell Phillips, and in England, Gladstone.

An orator who is quickly sensitive to the moods of his audience, and whose moods are reflected in his voice, manner and expression, can safely indulge in, or will necessarily be moved to, emotions and passions which have a tremendous effect upon his audience. A speaker gets into trouble when he attempts to make use of those elements which are the property of the orator only, for he is apt to overdo or underdo them, and be laughed off the platform or into his seat. His pathos becomes bathos; and his eloquence, grandiloquence.

Henry Ward Beecher was a great orator, with the excellences and the defects of a man who is simply an orator and not a practical man of affairs. He moved his audiences to laughter or tears or wild applause or intense excitement, as those emotions moved himself.

Perhaps the greatest triumph of a public speaker in our generation was Mr. Beecher's tour through England at the time of the Civil War. At Liverpool and Manchester, especially, his audiences were mobs and were restrained with difficulty from tearing him to pieces, and for hours refused to give him a hearing. As soon as he secured a hearing of fifteen minutes, his enemies were more anxious to hear him through than to put him down.

I have heard one of England's greatest speakers describe his own impressions as a youth in the audience at Manchester. He said as he entered the hall, he saw a crowd of people enraged beyond anything he deemed possible, and apparently endeavoring to get at and to kill the speaker. It was half an hour before Mr. Beecher could be heard. A hearing was secured by the leading men of Manchester upon the platform begging an opportunity and protecting the speaker.

At the end of five minutes the passion of the crowd broke out once more, and it was thirty minutes before Mr. Beecher could start again. At the end of two hours the converted audience had become his enthusiastic admirers, and wanted to carry him about the streets of their city. In this magnificent triumph of the American divine there was that irresistible trinity of elements—the truth, the word, and the man.

The young speaker should form his style by writing with

great care. He should cultivate his memory in every possible way. He should speak without notes, as practice. He should cultivate, if possible, the power of thinking upon his feet. The mere speaker is handicapped by his manuscript, and is generally lost when away from it, or when forced to leave it by a good debater on the other side.

But if a young man has in him the elements of oratory, to a greater or less extent he can, with severe practice, acquire the habit of thinking out the speech he has to deliver, so that without notes he can express himself with felicity and force, and if interrupted, or if in debate questions are thrown at him which compel a change of his order of battle, he can adapt himself to the occasion. Such a speaker can neither be put down nor discouraged.

Especially in America is humor and a good fund of anecdotes essential to the public speaker. President Lincoln once said to me—and he was one of the greatest popular orators this nation ever produced—"I am severely criticised because I tell stories and crack jokes. They say it detracts from the dignity of my office and injures my influence. But I have found in my career that plain people—take them as they run—are more easily influenced and convinced through the medium of a broad and humorous illustration than in any other way, and what the hypercritical, calculating few think I do not care."

Much is said in these days to the effect that oratory is no longer effective or useful. But it is the experience of political leaders of all denominations that the orator never had a larger field or could exercise more influence than to-day. The vast number of newspapers and periodicals which are offered to the public so cheaply have caused a diffuseness of mind. They have watered the brain so that thought is in a measure fluid. To this must be added the intense concentration upon earning a living, and making a career, necessitated by the frightful competition of our modern life. But the speaker has the power—if behind him is a reputation and a character which give force to his utterances—to solidify in the mind of audience—for his cause—this fluid and popular thought. There is no accomplishment which any man can have which will so quickly make for

him a career and secure recognition as the ability to speak acceptably.

Eloquence is the master element in politics—the most interesting and absorbing game that human beings play. It is the universal and beneficent agent of civilization and religion. At the bar, it is the first dependence of the State and the last hope of the accused. Without its graces, no public celebration is complete. For its inspiring purposes, it places science, statistics, poetry, history and art under contribution.

While a really great orator is as rare as a really great artist or poet, yet the art of effective public speaking, with all its possibilities for individual and general good, is a natural gift to many men, requiring only practice and self-control on their part for its development. It is strange, then, that this art of public speaking is not more cultivated, and it is to the stimulating of interest in this art that this splendid work is primarily dedicated. Readers should find it a never-failing source of inspiration, suggestion and information.

Chauncey M. Sepeur.

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PERICLES



PERICLES, the greatest of Athenian statesmen and orators, who rose to the highest power in the Greek state as leader of the popular party, was the son of Xanthippus, who in 479 B. C. commanded the Athenian fleet at the battle of Mycale. By his mother, Agariste, niece of Clisthenes, the legislator, he was connected with the old princely line of Sicyon, in the northern Peloponnesus, and with the noble family of Athens, the Alcmaeonidæ, that in 596 B. C. was banished for sacrilege. The date of Pericles's birth can be but approximately given as about 495 B. C., for he is known to have grown up amid the stirring scenes of the Persian war. Pericles received an elaborate education under the most distinguished philosophers of his time, and was himself notable for his great intellectual powers, varied culture, and superior attainments. He had a commanding appearance, courtly manners, and great eloquence, which earned for him the appellation of the Olympian Jove. He entered public life about the year 469 B. C., and became leader of the Democratic party in the Greek state, and later on was the ruler of the destinies of Athens. This was due to the wisdom he manifested in his guidance of affairs, as well as to his persuasive eloquence and the stately grandeur of his bearing and manner. The beauty and compelling force of his speeches were admitted even by those who personally liked him least. Three of his speeches are reported by Thucydides, and the one here reproduced, a funeral oration, delivered in honor of the Athenians who first fell in the Peloponnesian War, is probably a faithful report of what Pericles actually uttered. In his first public appearance he came forward as the champion of the Democratic or Progressive party, in opposition to Timon, the leader of the Aristocratic or Conservative party. It was probably he who suggested the transference of the treasury of the league against Persia from Belos to Athens, which converted the Athenian headship into an empire; at all events, he managed the fund after its transfer. It was Pericles who introduced the system of remunerating jurymen, and also the payment of citizens for military services. Vast sums were spent by him in adorning Athens with the memorable buildings which made it the wonder of the world. Among these were the Parthenon, the Erechtheum, the Propylæa or vestibule to the Acropolis, and the Odéon or music-hall. It is also probably by his advice that the Long Walls were built, which, connecting Athens with the Piræus, converted the capital and its seaport into one vast fortress. Moreover, in order to train the Athenians in seamanship, he maintained a fleet of sixty ships at sea eight months out of every year. The cost of all these enterprises was defrayed by the annual tribute levied on the members of the Athenian Confederacy. That

the Peloponnesian War was brought about by Pericles for personal motives, is far from the truth. That war was inevitable, being due to Sparta's jealousy of the growing power of Athens. He did, however, advise the Athenians to reject Sparta's demand that Athens should renounce her empire, and he added the sage counsel that they should confine their land operations to the defence of their own city, and should attack the Peloponnesians by sea. Unfortunately for the Peloponnesians, Pericles died at Athens, in 429 B.C. Had he lived, the Peloponnesian War would probably have had a different ending; at all events, the calamitous expedition against Sicily would, in all probability, never have been undertaken. The historian Thucydides gives Pericles high praise, despite the detractions of his enemies, relating that he ever acted worthy of his high position, was high-minded and forgiving toward his detractors and adversaries, and although having command of the purse-strings of the state, he was personally above corruption.

FUNERAL ORATION ON THE ATHENIANS WHO FIRST FELL IN THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR

THE greater part of those who ere now have spoken in this place, have been accustomed to praise the man who introduced this oration into the law; considering it a right thing that it should be delivered over those who are buried after falling in battle. To me, however, it would have appeared sufficient, that when men had shown themselves brave by deeds, their honors also should be displayed by deeds—as you now see in the case of this burial, prepared at the public expense—and not that the virtues of many should be perilled in one individual, for credit to be given him according as he expresses himself well or ill. For it is difficult to speak with propriety on a subject on which even the impression of one's truthfulness is with difficulty established. For the hearer who is acquainted [with the facts], and kindly disposed [toward those who performed them], might perhaps think them somewhat imperfectly set forth, compared with what he both wishes and knows; while he who is unacquainted with them might think that some points were even exaggerated, being led to this conclusion by envy, should he hear anything surpassing his own natural

powers. For praises spoken of others are only endured so far as each one thinks that he is himself also capable of doing any of the things he hears; but that which exceeds their own capacity men at once envy and disbelieve. Since, however, our ancestors judged this to be a right custom, I too, in obedience to the law, must endeavor to meet the wishes and views of every one, as far as possible.

I will begin then with our ancestors first: for it is just, and becoming too at the same time, that on such an occasion the honor of being thus mentioned should be paid them. For always inhabiting the country without change, through a long succession of posterity, by their valor they transmitted it free to this very time. Justly then may they claim to be commended; and more justly still may our own fathers. For in addition to what they inherited, they acquired the great empire which we possess, and by painful exertions bequeathed it to us of the present day: though to most part of it have additions been made by ourselves here, who are still, generally speaking, in the vigor of life; and we have furnished our city with everything, so as to be most self-sufficient both for peace and for war. Now with regard to our military achievements, by which each possession was gained, whether in any case it were ourselves, or our fathers, that repelled with spirit hostilities brought against us by barbarian or Greek; as I do not wish to enlarge on the subject before you who are well acquainted with it, I will pass them over. But by what a mode of life we attained to our power, and by what form of government and owing to what habits it became so great, I will explain these points first, and then proceed to the eulogy of these men; as I consider that on the present occasion they will not be inappropriately mentioned, and that it is profitable

for the whole assembly, both citizens and strangers, to listen to them.

For we enjoy a form of government which does not copy the laws of our neighbors; but we are ourselves rather a pattern to others than imitators of them. In name, from its not being administered for the benefit of the few, but of the many, it is called a democracy; but with regard to its laws, all enjoy equality, as concerns their private differences; while with regard to public rank, according as each man has reputation for anything, he is preferred for public honors, not so much from consideration of party, as of merit; nor, again, on the ground of poverty, while he is able to do the state any good service, is he prevented by the obscurity of his position. We are liberal then in our public administration; and with regard to mutual jealousy of our daily pursuits, we are not angry with our neighbor, if he does anything to please himself; nor wear on our countenance offensive looks, which, though harmless, are yet unpleasant. While, however, in private matters we live together agreeably, in public matters, under the influence of fear, we most carefully abstain from transgression, through our obedience to those who are from time to time in office, and to the laws; especially such of them as are enacted for the benefit of the injured, and such as, though unwritten, bring acknowledged disgrace [on those who break them].

Moreover, we have provided for our spirits the most numerous recreations from labors, by celebrating games and sacrifices through the whole year, and by maintaining elegant private establishments, of which the daily gratification drives away sadness. Owing to the greatness too of our city, everything from every land is imported into it; and it is our lot to reap with no more peculiar enjoyment

the good things which are produced here, than those of the rest of the world likewise.

In the studies of war also we differ from our enemies in the following respects. We throw our city open to all, and never, by the expulsion of strangers, exclude any one from either learning or observing things, by seeing which unconcealed any of our enemies might gain an advantage; for we trust not so much to preparations and stratagems as to our own valor for daring deeds. Again, as to our modes of education, *they* aim at the acquisition of a manly character, by laborious training from their very youth; while *we*, though living at our ease, no less boldly advance to meet equal dangers. As a proof of this, the Lacedæmonians never march against our country singly, but with all [their confederates] together: while we, generally speaking, have no difficulty in conquering in battle upon hostile ground those who are standing up in defence of their own. And no enemy ever yet encountered our whole united force, through our attending at the same time to our navy, and sending our troops by land on so many different services: but wherever they have engaged with any part of it, if they conquer only some of us, they boast that we were all routed by them; and if they are conquered, they say it was by all that they were beaten. And yet if with careless ease rather than with laborious practice, and with a courage which is the result not so much of laws as of natural disposition, we are willing to face danger, we have the advantage of not suffering beforehand from coming troubles, and of proving ourselves, when we are involved in them, no less bold than those who are always toiling; so that our country is worthy of admiration in these respects, and in others besides.

For we study taste with economy, and philosophy with-

out effeminacy; and employ wealth rather for opportunity of action than for boastfulness of talking; while poverty is nothing disgraceful for a man to confess, but not to escape it by exertion is more disgraceful. Again, the same men can attend at the same time to domestic as well as to public affairs; and others, who are engaged with business, can still form a sufficient judgment on political questions. For we are the only people that consider the man who takes no part in these things, not as unofficious, but as useless; and we ourselves judge rightly of measures, at any rate, if we do not originate them; while we do not regard words as any hindrance to deeds, but rather [consider it a hindrance] not to have been previously instructed by word, before undertaking in deed what we have to do. For we have this characteristic also in a remarkable degree, that we are at the same time most daring and most calculating in what we take in hand; whereas to other men it is ignorance that brings daring, while calculation brings fear. Those, however, would deservedly be deemed most courageous, who know most fully what is terrible and what is pleasant, and yet do not on this account shrink from dangers. As regards beneficence also we differ from the generality of men; for we make friends, not by receiving, but by conferring kindness. Now he who has conferred the favor is the firmer friend, in order that he may keep alive the obligation by good will toward the man on whom he has conferred it; whereas he who owes it in return feels less keenly, knowing that it is not as a favor, but as a debt, that he will repay the kindness. Nay, we are the only men who fearlessly benefit any one, not so much from calculations of expediency, as with the confidence of liberality.

In short, I say that both the whole city is a school for

Greece, and that, in my opinion, the same individual would among us prove himself qualified for the most varied kinds of action, and with the most graceful versatility. And that this is not mere vaunting language for the occasion, so much as actual truth, the very power of the state, which we have won by such habits, affords a proof. For it is the only country at the present time that, when brought to the test, proves superior to its fame; and the only one that neither gives to the enemy who has attacked us any cause for indignation at being worsted by such opponents, nor to him who is subject to us room for finding fault, as not being ruled by men who are worthy of empire. But we shall be admired both by present and future generations as having exhibited our power with great proofs, and by no means without evidence; and as having no further need, either of Homer to praise us, or any one else who might charm for the moment by his verses, while the truth of the facts would mar the idea formed of them; but as having compelled every sea and land to become accessible to our daring, and everywhere established everlasting records, whether of evil or of good. It was for such a country then that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting; and every one of their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf.

For this reason, indeed, it is that I have enlarged on the characteristics of the state; both to prove that the struggle is not for the same object in our case as in that of men who have none of these advantages in an equal degree; and at the same time clearly to establish by proofs [the truth of] the eulogy of those men over whom I am now speaking. And now the chief points of it have been mentioned; for with regard to the things for which I have

commended the city, it was the virtues of these men, and such as these, that adorned her with them; and few of the Greeks are there whose fame, like these men's, would appear but the just counterpoise of their deeds. Again, the closing scene of these men appears to me to supply an illustration of human worth, whether as affording us the first information respecting it, or its final confirmation. For even in the case of men who have been in other respects of an inferior character, it is but fair for them to hold forth as a screen their military courage in their country's behalf; for, having wiped out their evil by their good, they did more service collectively, than harm by their individual offences. But of these men there was none that either was made a coward by his wealth, from preferring the continued enjoyment of it; or shrank from danger through a hope suggested by poverty, namely, that he might yet escape it, and grow rich; but conceiving that vengeance on their foes was more to be desired than these objects, and at the same time regarding this as the most glorious of hazards, they wished by risking it to be avenged on their enemies, and so to aim at procuring those advantages; committing to hope the uncertainty of success, but resolving to trust to action, with regard to what was visible to themselves; and in that action, being minded rather to resist and die, than by surrendering to escape, they fled from the shame of [a discreditable] report, while they endured the brunt of the battle with their bodies; and after the shortest crisis, when at the very height of their fortune, were taken away from their glory rather than their fear.

Such did these men prove themselves, as became the character of their country. For you that remain, you must

pray that you may have a more successful resolution, but must determine not to have one less bold against your enemies; not in word alone considering the benefit [of such a spirit] (on which one might descant to you at great length—though you know it yourselves quite as well—telling you how many advantages are contained in repelling your foes); but rather day by day beholding the power of the city as it appears in fact, and growing enamored of it, and reflecting, when you think it great, that it was by being bold, and knowing their duty, and being alive to shame in action, that men acquired these things; and because, if they ever failed in their attempt at anything, they did not on that account think it right to deprive their country also of their valor, but conferred upon her a most glorious joint-offering. For while collectively they gave her their lives, individually they received that renown which never grows old, and the most distinguished tomb they could have; not so much that in which they are laid, as that in which their glory is left behind them, to be everlastingly recorded on every occasion for doing so, either by word or deed, that may from time to time present itself. For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre; and not only does the inscription upon columns in their own land point it out, but in that also which is not their own there dwells with every one an unwritten memorial of the heart, rather than of a material monument. Vying then with these men in your turn, and deeming happiness to consist in freedom, and freedom in valor, do not think lightly of the hazards of war. For it is not the unfortunate [and those] who have no hope of any good, that would with most reason be unsparing of their lives; but those who, while they

live, still incur the risk of a change to the opposite condition, and to whom the difference would be the greatest, should they meet with any reverse. For more grievous, to a man of high spirit at least, is the misery which accompanies cowardice, than the unfelt death which comes upon him at once, in the time of his strength and of his hope for the common welfare.

Wherefore to the parents of the dead—as many of them as are here among you—I will not offer condolence, so much as consolation. For they know that they have been brought up subject to manifold misfortunes; but that happy is *their* lot who have gained the most glorious—death, as these have—sorrow, as you have; and to whom life has been so exactly measured, that they were both happy in it, and died in [that happiness]. Difficult, indeed, I know it is to persuade you of this, with regard to those of whom you will often be reminded by the good fortune of others, in which you yourselves also once rejoiced; and sorrow is felt, not for the blessings of which one is bereft without full experience of them, but of that which one loses after becoming accustomed to it. But you must bear up in the hope of other children, those of you whose age yet allows you to have them. For to yourselves individually those who are subsequently born will be a reason for your forgetting those who are no more; and to the state it will be beneficial in two ways, by its not being depopulated, and by the enjoyment of security; for it is not possible that those should offer any fair and just advice, who do not incur equal risk with their neighbors by having children at stake. Those of you, however, who are past that age, must consider that the longer period of your life during which you have been prosperous is so

much gain, and that what remains will be but a short one; and you must cheer yourselves with the fair fame of these [your lost ones]. For the love of honor is the only feeling that never grows old; and in the helplessness of age it is not the acquisition of gain, as some assert, that gives greatest pleasure, but the enjoyment of honor.

For those of you, on the other hand, who are sons or brothers of the dead, great, I see, will be the struggle of competition. For every one is accustomed to praise the man who is no more; and scarcely, though even for an excess of worth, would you be esteemed, I do not say equal to them, but only slightly inferior. For the living are exposed to envy in their rivalry; but those who are in no one's way are honored with a good will free from all opposition. If, again, I must say anything on the subject of woman's excellence also, with reference to those of you who will now be in widowhood, I will express it all in a brief exhortation. Great will be your glory in not falling short of the natural character that belongs to you; and great is hers, who is least talked of among the men, either for good or evil.

I have now expressed *in word*, as the law required, what I had to say befitting the occasion; and, *in deed*, those who are here interred, have already received part of their honors; while, for the remaining part, the state will bring up their sons at the public expense, from this time to their manhood; thus offering both to these and to their posterity a beneficial reward for such contests; for where the greatest prizes for virtue are given, there also the most virtuous men are found among the citizens. And now, having finished your lamentations for your several relatives, depart.

GORGIAS



GORGIAS, a notable Greek rhetorician and sophist, was born at Leontini, Sicily, probably about the year 483 B. C. He is reputed to have lived to the advanced age of 105 or 108, outliving his contemporary Socrates, with whom he figures in Plato's dialogue of "Gorgias." He is esteemed the creator of the artistic prose of Greece, with its fine Attic flavor, though his literary style is artificial and florid, as the declamations extant attributed to him reveal. He seems to have become known to the Athenians, among whom in later life he settled and taught the practice of oratory, by having been sent from Sicily, in 427 B. C., at the head of an embassy to ask Athenian protection against the aggression of the Syracusans. The probable place and date of his death is given as Larissa, Thessaly, in the year 375 B. C. Among the works attributed to him that have come down to us is the fragment of a treatise on "Nature or the Non-Existent," and the declamations entitled: "The Apology of Palamedes," and "The Encomium on Helen," the latter of which is here translated in these pages. His philosophic teaching is given in these three propositions, which he is understood to have held, viz., one, "that there is nothing that has any real existence; two, that, even if anything did really exist, it could not be known; and three, that, supposing real existence to be knowable, the knowledge could not be communicated."

THE ENCOMIUM ON HELEN

A CITY is adorned by good citizenship, the body by beauty, the soul by wisdom, acts by virtue, and speech by truthfulness. But the opposites of these virtues are a disgrace. Man and woman, word and deed, city and government, we ought to praise if praiseworthy, and blame if blameworthy. For it is equally wrong and stupid to censure what is commendable, and to commend what is censurable. Now I conceive it to be my duty in the interest of justice to confute the slanders of Helen, the memory of whose misfortunes has been kept alive by the writings of the poets and the fame of her name. I propose, therefore, by argument to exonerate her from the charge of

infamy, to convince her accusers of their error, and remove their ignorance by a revelation of the truth.

There are few indeed who do not know that by birth Helen ranked among the first men and women of her time. Her mother was the celebrated Leda, her father the god Zeus, though Tyndareus was reputed to be her father. The former is the mightiest of gods, the latter the noblest of men.

Born of such parents, she possessed divine beauty, which she made no attempt to conceal. Nearly all who met her were inspired with love for her, and by her personal charms she attracted many great and haughty suitors. Some of them had abundance of wealth; others were renowned for their ancient nobility. Some were distinguished for their physical superiority and prowess in war; others for their mental acquirements. But all in common were filled with contentious love and an irrepressible spirit of rivalry. Now which of them won Helen and how he satisfied his love for her, I shall not pretend to say. For to tell people what they already know is a good enough way to gain credence, but not to give pleasure. Passing over, then, that period in my discourse, I shall now address myself to what I have to say, and set forth the probable causes of Helen's voyage to Troy.

Now Helen acted as she did either by command of the gods and a decree of fate, or she was carried off by force, or yielded to persuasion, or was led captive by love. If, then, her act was the effect of the first cause, she certainly ought not to be blamed. For human forethought and prudence can never thwart the will of the gods. In fact it is a universal law, not that the stronger should yield to the weaker, but the weaker to the stronger; that the stronger should lead, and

the weaker follow. Now the gods are mightier than men in strength and wisdom and all things else. Accordingly we must attribute the fault to fate and the gods, or clear Helen of infamy.

But if she was unlawfully carried off by force and shamefully insulted, evidently it was the perpetrator of this outrage who did wrong; she, on the other hand, is to be pitied for the indignity and misfortune she was compelled to suffer. He alone, then, who attempted this barbarous deed, deserves to pay the penalty of dishonor and reproach, while she ought rather to be pitied than abused for being violently torn from her friends and her native land. Helen was not a sinner, but a sufferer, and our feeling for her should not be one of hatred, but of compassion.

But if it was the power of speech that moved and beguiled her soul, it will not be difficult to free her of all blame on this score. For the power of speech is mighty. Insignificant in themselves, words accomplish the most remarkable ends. They have power to remove fear and assuage pain. Moreover they can produce joy and increase pity. That this is so there can be no doubt, as I shall undertake to show.

All poetry I call, in accordance with my conception of it, measured speech. Now the readers of poetry are affected in various ways. At times they experience a shivering fear; then again they feel a tender pity and mournful longing. In short, every condition of happiness or unhappiness touches a responsive chord in the soul of the reader. Song, then, inspired by the gods, produces pleasure and removes pain. For the spirit of song, harmonizing with the sentiment of the soul, soothes, and persuades, and enchants it. Enchantment differs from magic in that it beguiles the soul, while magic deceives the mind. In this lies the power of song.

How many, then, have been persuaded and are still persuaded by the captivating power of speech! Whereas, if we had perfect memory of the past, full knowledge of the present, and clear foresight of the future, the same language could not so easily present to us the same pictures of the present, past, and future as is now the case. The result would be that in nearly all cases people would not take counsel of their opinions. For opinions are slippery and insecure, and lead those who follow them into slippery and insecure positions.

Since so many have yielded to persuasion, why should we refuse assent to the belief that Helen too was overcome by its irresistible power? And if submission to necessity be a complete defence, why not also submission to persuasion, which is no less powerful than necessity, since it compels assent to what is said and approval of what is done? Paris, I admit, did wrong in exercising upon Helen the compulsory power of persuasion, but in submitting to that power Helen did nothing to merit condemnation.

That persuasion joined with argument can bend the soul to its will, we find illustrated in the discourses of the astronomers, who by overthrowing one theory and setting up another make the unknown and incredible appear clear to the mind's eye. Again we see evidence of this fact in oratorical contests, in which a speech delights and persuades a great multitude, owing its effectiveness rather to the force of rhetorical art than to the power of truth. Finally the discussions of the philosophers show us how easily the mind may be changed by argument and persuasion.

To conclude this part of my argument, then, words have the same effect on the soul that drugs have on the body. For just as different drugs expel different diseases from the body,

and some cure sickness and others end life, so words produce various effects on the soul. Some cause pain, and others pleasure. Some terrify, and others encourage, while still others drug and enchant the soul with evil persuasion. In yielding to persuasion, then, Helen did no wrong, but suffered great misfortune.

Let us now consider the case from a fourth point of view; and if we find that Helen acted as she did through love, we must acquit her of all fault. For all things in the visible world are constituted, not as we would have them, but as nature has ordained. And through the sight this visible world affects the soul in various ways. When, for example, the eye catches sight of hostile bodies in conflict, of assault, and of defence, it is troubled and in turn troubles the soul, so that not infrequently people flee in terror when there is no impending danger. Many a man in the past has lost his presence of mind at some terrible sight; to such an extent does fear paralyze the mind. Many, too, through fear, become dreadfully sick or incurably mad; so powerful an impression does the eye make on the mind of the things it has seen. To enumerate instances of sights that inspire terror is unnecessary, since in all cases the effect on the soul is the same as in the example I have given. When, however, from many colors and many forms, a painter produces one perfect form and figure, he delights our eyes. The sight of beautiful images and statues affords us unspeakable pleasure. So, too, the sight of many things and many persons inspires us with love and longing.

Since this is so, what wonder if Helen's eye was captivated by the charms of Paris, and transmitted the sensation of love to her soul? And how, if he was a god and possessed of divine power, could she in her weakness repel his advances?

But if this be human frailty we ought not to condemn it as a fault, but regard it as a misfortune. For it comes to us through captivation of the soul, and not by design of the intellect. It results from the necessity of love, and not the premeditation of art.


How, then, can we justly censure Helen? For whether she acted through love, persuasion, force, or divine necessity, her conduct is equally defensible.

I have now, by argument, removed all stain from Helen's reputation, and accomplished the task I set myself at the beginning, by discrediting unjust censure and ignorant opinion. My purpose has been to make this discourse an encomium of Helen and a pastime for myself.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

Vol. 1—2

ANTIPHON

NTIPHON, an Athenian orator and politician, deemed the ablest debater and pleader of his day, was born at Rhamnus, Attica, about the year 480 B. C., and was executed at Athens in 411 B. C., owing to the active part he took in establishing the oligarchy of the Four Hundred. As a member of the aristocratic party he was prominent in the political affairs of Athens, and held command in the Peloponnesian War; but upon a change of government he was convicted of treason for his share in the oligarchical reaction of the time and put to death. During his career he gained great repute for his skill in debate, and for his facility in composing oratorical orations for those accused of capital offences. Of his extant speeches, which have the merit of acuteness and force, all of them deal with homicidal cases, and one at least, given in these pages, "On the Murder of Herodes," possesses historic interest. Antiphon is the oldest of the ten Attic orators mentioned in the Alexandrine canon, and is deemed the founder in Greece of political oratory and the first to lay down definite rules and principles governing the art of the orator. See Professor Jebb's "Attic Orators," also his "Greek Literature," for an account of Antiphon and the characteristics of his literary style as a declaimer and rhetorician.

ON THE MURDER OF HERODES

[Helus, a Mitylenæan, having been accused of the murder of Herodes, who had mysteriously disappeared from the boat in which the two had embarked in company, defended himself in the following speech, composed for him by Antiphon.]

I COULD have wished, gentlemen, that I possessed the gift of eloquence and legal experience proportionate to my adversity. Adversity I have experienced in an unusual degree, but in eloquence and legal experience I am sadly deficient. The result is that, in circumstances where I was compelled to suffer personal ill-usage on a false charge, legal experience did not come to my rescue; and here, when my salvation depends on a true statement of the facts, I feel embarrassed by my incapacity for speaking. Many an innocent man has been condemned because of his inability to pre-

sent clearly the truth and justice of his cause. Many a guilty man, on the other hand, has escaped punishment through skilful pleading. It follows, then, that if the accused lacks experience in these matters, his fate depends rather on the representations of his prosecutors than on the actual facts and true version of the case.

I shall not ask you, gentlemen, to give me an impartial hearing. And yet I am aware that such is the practice of most men on trial, who have no faith in their own cause or confidence in your justice. No, I make no such request, because I know full well that, like all good men and true, you will grant me the same hearing that you grant the prosecution. I do ask you, however, to be indulgent if I commit any indiscretion of speech, and to attribute it rather to my inexperience than to the injustice of my cause. But if my argument has any weight I pray you will ascribe it rather to the force of truth than rhetorical art.

I have always felt that it is not just either that one who has done wrong should be saved through eloquence, or that one who has done no wrong should be condemned through lack of eloquence. Unskilful speaking is but a sin of the tongue; but wrongful acts are sins of the soul. Now it is only natural that a man whose life is in danger should commit some indiscretion of speech; for he must be intent not only on what he says, but on the outcome of the trial, since all that is still uncertain is controlled rather by chance than by providence. This fact inspires great fear in a man whose life is at stake. In fact, I have often observed that the most experienced orators speak with embarrassment when their lives are in danger. But whenever they seek to accomplish some purpose without danger they are more successful. My request for indulgence, then, gentlemen, is both natural and lawful;

and it is no less your duty to grant it than my right to make it.

I shall now consider the case for the prosecution in detail. And first I shall show you that I have been brought to trial here in violation of law and justice, not on the chance of eluding your judgment—for I would commit my life to your decision, even if you were bound by no oath to pronounce judgment according to law, since I am conscious that I have done no wrong and feel assured that you will do me justice: no, my purpose in showing you this is rather that the lawlessness and violence of my accusers may bear witness to you of their bitter feeling towards me.

First, then, though they imprisoned me as a malefactor, they have indicted me for homicide—an outrage that no one has ever before suffered in this land. For I am not a malefactor, or amenable to the law of malefactors, which has to do only with thieves and highwaymen. So far, then, as they have dealt with me by summary process, they have made it possible for you to make my acquittal lawful and righteous.

But they argue that homicide is a species of malefaction. I admit that it is a great crime, as great as sacrilege or treason. But these crimes are dealt with each according to its own peculiar laws. Moreover, they compel me to undergo trial in this place of public assemblage, where all men charged with murder are usually forbidden to appear; and furthermore they would commute to a fine in my case the sentence of death imposed by law on all murderers, not for my benefit, but for their own private gain, thereby defrauding the dead of lawful satisfaction. Their reason for so doing you will perceive as my argument advances.

In the second place, you all know that the courts decide

murder cases in the open air, for no other reason than that the judges may not assemble in the same place with those whose hands have been defiled with blood, and that the prosecutor may not be sheltered beneath the same roof with the murderer. This custom my accusers have utterly disregarded. Nay, they have even failed to take the customary solemn oath that, whatever other crimes I may have committed, they will prosecute me for murder alone, and will allow no meritorious act of mine to stand in the way of my condemnation. Thus do they prosecute me unsworn; and even their witnesses testify against me without having taken the oath. And then they expect you, gentlemen, to believe these unsworn witnesses and condemn me to death, when they have made it impossible for you to accept such testimony by their violation and contempt of the law.

But they contend if I had been set free I would have fled. What motive could I have had? For, if I did not mind exile, I might have refused to come home when summoned, and have incurred judgment by default, or, having come, might have left voluntarily after my first trial. For such a course is open to all. And yet my accusers in their lawlessness seek to deprive me alone of the common right of all Greeks.

This leads me, gentlemen, to say a word about the laws that govern my case. And I think you will admit that they are good and righteous, since, though very ancient, they still remain unchanged — an unmistakable proof of excellence in laws. For time and experience teach men what is good and what is not good. You ought not, therefore, judge by the arguments of my accusers whether the laws are good or bad, but rather judge by the laws whether their claims are just or unjust. So perfect, indeed, are the laws that relate to homicide, that no one has ever dared to disturb them. But

these men have dared to constitute themselves lawmakers in order to effect their wicked purposes, and disregarding these ordinances they seek unjustly to compass my ruin.

Their lawlessness, however, will not help them, for they well know that they have no sworn witness to testify against me. Moreover they did not make a single decisive trial of the matter, as they would have done if they had confidence in their cause. No, they left room for controversy and argument, as if, in fact, they meant to dispute the previous verdict. The result is that I gain nothing by an acquittal, since it will be open to them to say that I was acquitted as a malefactor, not as a murderer, and catching me again they will ask to have me sentenced to death on a charge of homicide. Wicked schemers! Would ye have the judges set aside a verdict obtained by fair means, and put me a second time in jeopardy of my life for the same offence? But this is not all. They would not even allow me to offer bail according to law, and thus escape imprisonment, though they have never before denied this privilege even to an alien. And yet the officers in charge of malefactors conform to the same custom. I, alone, then, have failed to derive advantage from this common right conferred by law. This wrong they have done me for two reasons: First, that they might render me helpless to prepare for my defence; and second, that they might influence my friends, through anxiety for my safety, to bear false witness against me. Thus, would they bring disgrace upon me and mine for life.

In this trial, then, I am at a disadvantage in respect to many points of your law and of justice. Nevertheless, I shall try to prove my innocence. And yet I realize that it will be difficult immediately to dissipate the false impression which these men have long conspired to create. For it is impossible for any man to guard against the unexpected.

Now, the facts in the case, gentlemen, are briefly these: I sailed from Mitylene in the same boat with Herodes, whom I am accused of having murdered. Our destination was the same — Ænus,— but our objects were different. I went to visit my father, who happened to be at Ænus at that time; Herodes went to sell some slaves to certain Thracian merchants. Both the slaves and the merchants sailed with us.

To confirm these statements I shall now offer the testimony of competent witnesses.

To continue, then, we were compelled by a violent storm to put in at a port on the Methymnian coast, and there we found the boat on which they allege I killed Herodes.

Now I would have you bear in mind that this whole affair took place not through design on my part, but through chance. For it was by chance that Herodes undertook the voyage with me. It was by chance that we encountered the storm, which compelled us to put in at the Methymnian port. And it was by chance that we found the cabined boat in which we sought shelter against the violence of the storm.

After we had boarded the other boat and had taken some wine, Herodes left us, never to return. But I did not leave the boat at all that night. On the day after Herodes disappeared, however, I sought him as diligently as any of our company, and felt his loss as keenly. It was I who proposed sending a messenger to Mitylene, and when no one else was willing to go I offered to send my own attendant. Of course, I would not have done this if I had murdered Herodes, for I would be sending an informant against myself. Finally, it was only after I was satisfied by diligent search that Herodes was nowhere to be found, that I sailed away with the first favorable wind. Such are the facts.

What inference can you draw from these facts other than

that I am an innocent man? Even these men did not accuse me on the spot, while I was still in the country, although they knew of the affair. No, the truth was too apparent at that time. Only after I had departed, and they had had an opportunity to conspire against me, did they bring this indictment.

Now the prosecution have two theories of the death of Herodes. One is that he was killed on shore, the other that he was cast into the sea. First, then, they say that I killed Herodes on shore, by striking him on the head with a stone. This is impossible, since, as I have proved, I did not leave the boat that night. Strange that they should pretend to have accurate knowledge of the manner of his death, and yet not be able satisfactorily to account for the disappearance of his body. Evidently this must have happened near the shore, for, since it was night, and Herodes was drunk, his murderer could have had no reason to take him far from the shore. However that may be, two days' search failed to produce any trace of him. This drives them to their second hypothesis — that I drowned Herodes. If that were so, there would be some sign in the boat that the man was murdered and cast into the sea. No such sign, however, appears. But they say they have found signs in the boat in which he drank the wine. And yet they admit he was not killed in that boat. The utter absurdity of this second view is shown by the fact that they cannot find the boat they say I used for the purpose of drowning Herodes, or any trace of it.

It was not till after I had sailed away to *Ænus*, and the boat in which Herodes and I made the voyage had returned to Mitylene, that these men made the examination that led to the discovery of blood. At once they concluded that I killed Herodes on that very boat. But when they found that

this theory was inadmissible, since the blood was proved to be that of sheep, they changed their course and sought to obtain information by torturing the crew. The poor wretch whom they first subjected to torture said nothing compromising about me. But the other, whom they did not torture till several days later, keeping him near them in the meantime, is the one who has borne false witness against me. . . .

All that it is possible for you to learn, gentlemen, from the testimony of human witnesses, you have now heard. It remains to consider the testimony of the gods, expressed by signs. For by reliance on these heaven-sent signs you will best secure the safety of the state both in adversity and in prosperity. In private matters, too, you ought to attach great weight to these signs. You all know, of course, that, when a wicked man embarks in the same boat with a righteous man, the gods not infrequently cause the shipwreck and destruction of both because of the sinfulness of one alone. Again, the righteous, by associating with the wicked, have been brought, if not to destruction, at least into the greatest dangers that divine wrath can send. Finally, the presence of guilty men at a sacrifice has often caused the omens to be unfavorable. Thus do the gods testify to the guilt and wickedness of man.

In the light of divine testimony, then, my innocence is established. For no mariner with whom I sailed has ever suffered shipwreck. Nor has my presence at a sacrifice ever caused the omens to be unfavorable.

Now, I feel sure, gentlemen, that if the prosecution could find evidence that my presence on shipboard or at a sacrifice had ever caused any mishap, they would insist upon this as the clearest proof of my guilt. Since, however, this divine testimony is adverse to their claims, they ask you to reject it, and to have faith in their representations. Thus do they run

counter to the practice of all reasonable men. For, instead of testing words by facts, they seek to overthrow facts by words.

Having now concluded my defence, gentlemen, against all that I can recall of the charge against me, I look to you for acquittal. On that depends my salvation and the fulfilment of your oath. For you have sworn to pronounce judgment according to law. Now, I am not liable to the laws under which I was arrested, while as to the acts with which I am charged I can still be brought to trial in the legal form. And if two trials have been made out of one, the fault is not mine, but that of my accusers. When, however, my worst enemies give me the chance of a second trial, surely you, the impartial awarders of justice, will never pronounce on the present issue a premature verdict of murder. Be not so unjust; rather leave something for that other witness, Time, who aids the zealous seekers of eternal truth. I should certainly desire that in cases of homicide the sentence be in accordance with law, but that the investigation, in every possible instance, be regulated by justice. In this way the interests of truth and right would best be secured. For in homicide cases an unjust sentence banishes truth and justice beyond recall. If, then, you condemn me, you are bound to abide by the sentence, however guiltless I may be. No one would dare, through confidence in his innocence, to contravene the sentence passed upon him, nor, if conscious of guilt, would he rebel against the law. We must yield not only to the truth, but to a verdict against the truth, especially if there be no one to support our cause. It is for these reasons that the laws, the oaths, and the solemnities in murder cases differ from those in all other cases. In this class of cases it is of the utmost importance that the issue be clear and the decision correct. For, other-

wise, either the murdered will be deprived of vengeance, or an innocent man will suffer death unjustly. It is less serious, however, that the prosecution should accuse unjustly, than that you, the judges, should decide unjustly. For their accusation is not decisive, the result depends on you. Decide, then, justly; for your decision, if wrong, admits of no remedy.

But how, you may ask, will you decide justly? By compelling my accusers to take the customary solemn oath before they put me upon my defence against an indictment for murder. And how are you to accomplish this? By acquitting me now. And remember that, even though you acquit me now, I shall not escape your judgment, since in the other trial, too, you will be my judges. By an acquittal now you make it possible to deal with me hereafter as you will, but, if you condemn me now, my case will not be open to reconsideration. If, then, you must make any mistake, an undeserved acquittal is less serious than an unjust condemnation. For the former is a mistake only; the latter an eternal disgrace. Take care, then, that you do no irreparable wrong. Some of you in the past have actually repented of condemning innocent men, but not one of you has ever repented of making an undeserved acquittal. Moreover, involuntary mistakes are pardonable, voluntary unpardonable. The former we attribute to chance, the latter to design. Of two risks, then, run the lesser; commit the involuntary mistake; acquit me.

Now, gentlemen, if my conscience were guilty, I should never have come into this city. But I did come — with an abiding faith in the justice of my cause, and strong in conscious innocence. For not once alone has a clear conscience raised up and supported a failing body in the hour of trial and tribulation. A guilty conscience, on the other hand, is a

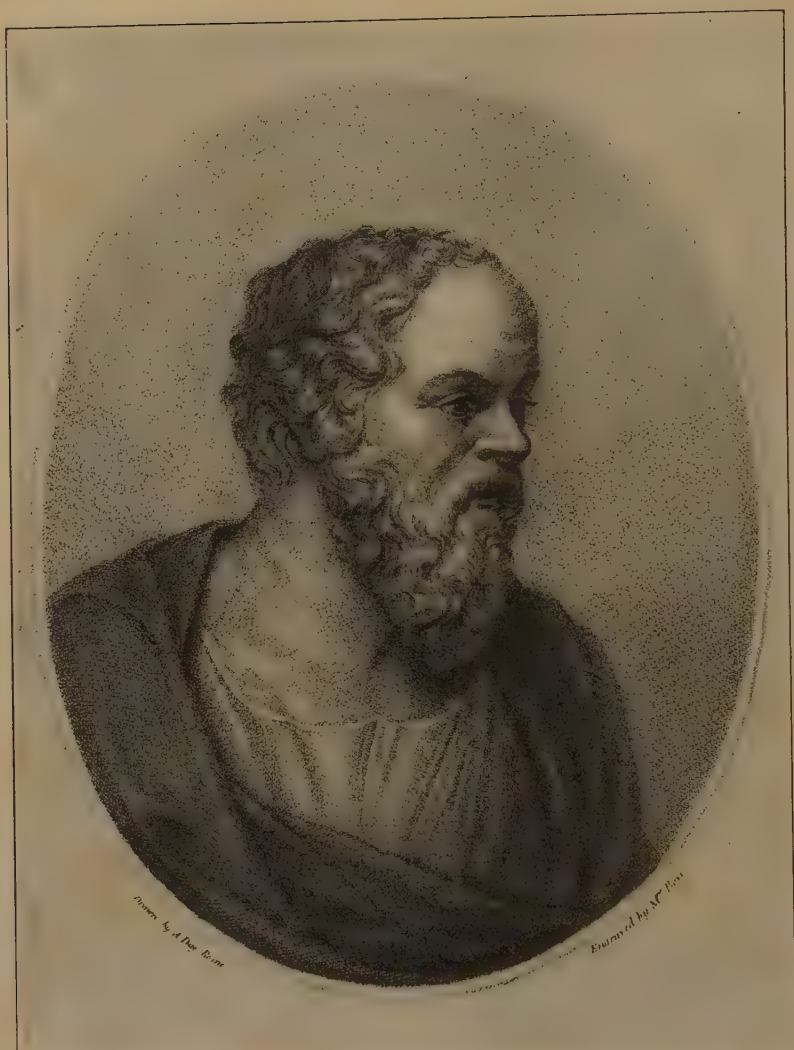
source of weakness to the strongest body. The confidence, therefore, with which I appear before you, is the confidence of innocence.

To conclude, gentlemen, I have only to say that I am not surprised that my accusers slander me. That is their part; yours is not to credit their slander. If, on the one hand, you listen to me, you can afterwards repent, if you like, and punish me by way of remedy, but, if you listen to my accusers, and do what they wish, no remedy will then be admissible. Moreover, no long time will intervene before you can decide lawfully what the prosecution now asks you to decide unlawfully. Matters like these require not haste, but deliberation. On the present occasion, then, take a survey of the case; on the next, sit in judgment on the witnesses; form, now, an opinion; later, decide the facts.

It is very easy, indeed, to testify falsely against a man charged with murder. For, if he be immediately condemned to death, his false accusers have nothing to fear, since all danger of retribution is removed on the day of execution. And, even if the friends of the condemned man cared to exact satisfaction for malicious prosecution, of what advantage would it be to him after his death.

Acquit me, then, on this issue, and compel my accusers to indict me according to law. Your judgment will then be strictly legal, and, if condemned, I cannot complain that it was contrary to law. This request I make of you with due regard to your conscience as well as to my own right. For upon your oath depends my safety. By whichever of these considerations you are influenced, you must acquit me.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]



SOCRATES

SOCRATES



OCRATES, a celebrated Greek philosopher, noted as the noblest exponent of the ethical life of the Greeks, and chiefly known to us through his famous disciples, Plato and Xenophon, for he left no writings of his own. He was born at Athens about the year 470 B. C., and died there, under sentence of death, by drinking a cup of hemlock poison. He was the son of Sophroniscus, a sculptor, by a midwife named Phænarete, and in his youth was drawn to art, but abandoned it, and also a promising military career, that he might continue the cultivation of his own faculties and so teach his countrymen, by convicting them of ignorance mistaken for knowledge, and promoting their intellectual and moral well-being. His domestic relations are commonly said to have been unhappy, for he had a shrewish wife in Xanthippe; though it is related that he married and lived with her as a means of discipline and a restraint upon his temper. His personal appearance, which was homely, if not repulsive, could not have been gratifying to Xanthippe; while it must have tried sorely his philosophic temper and counsellings to live with a scold. Socrates, however, was a man not only of philosophic mood, but of the highest probity, loyal to his duties as a citizen, husband and father, and endowed with a high sense of honor. It is true, he had enemies, but they were such as a high-minded teacher and censor is apt to make who believed he had a mission to interpret wisdom to his age and to convict the masses of wickedness and ignorance. In spite of his services to his country and his great merit as a reasoner and moralist, he was in 399 B. C., accused of impiety in worshipping other gods than those Athens worshipped, and of corrupting youth. His defence, as given by Plato, in the following "Apology," did not placate his judges, whom, indeed, he on the contrary defied; and being condemned to death, he philosophically entertained his friends and intimates in prison, by cheerful conversation and reflection, and calmly wooed death through the poisoned chalice.

THE APOLOGY

[Two charges were brought against Socrates, one, that he did not believe in the gods received by the state; the other, that he corrupted the Athenian youth by teaching them not to believe. Plato, who was present at the trial, probably gives us the very arguments employed by the accused on that occasion. With regard to the first accusation, he neither confesses nor denies it, but shows that he had in some instances conformed to the religious customs of his country, and that he did believe in God, so much so, indeed, that even if they would acquit him on condition of his abandoning his practice of teaching others, he could not consent to such terms, but must persevere in fulfilling the mission on which the Deity had sent him, for that he feared God rather than man. With reference to the second charge, which he meets, first, by his usual method of a brief but close cross-examination of his accuser, Melitus, he brings him to this dilemma, that

he must either charge him with corrupting the youth designedly, which would be absurd, or with doing so undesignedly, for which he could not be liable to punishment. In the third and concluding part, with a dignity and fullness of hope worthy even of a Christian, he expresses his belief that the death to which he is going is only a passage to a better and a happier life.]

I KNOW not, O Athenians, how far you have been influenced by my accusers; for my part, in listening to them I almost forgot myself, so plausible were their arguments; however, so to speak, they have said nothing true. But of the many falsehoods which they uttered I wondered at one of them especially, that in which they said you ought to be on your guard lest you should be deceived by me, as being eloquent in speech. For that they are not ashamed of being forthwith convicted by me in fact, when I shall show that I am not by any means eloquent, this seemed to me the most shameless thing in them, unless indeed they call him eloquent who speaks the truth.

For, if they mean this, then I would allow that I am an orator, but not after their fashion; for they, as I affirm, have said nothing true; but from me you shall hear the whole truth. Not indeed, Athenians, arguments highly wrought, as theirs were, with choice phrases and expressions, nor adorned, but you shall hear a speech uttered without premeditation, in such words as first present themselves. For I am confident that what I say will be just, and let none of you expect otherwise; for surely it would not become my time of life to come before you like a youth with a got-up speech.

Above all things, therefore, I beg and implore this of you, O Athenians, if you hear me defending myself in the same language as that in which I am accustomed to speak both in the forum at the counters, where many of you have heard me, and elsewhere, not to be surprised or disturbed on this account. For the case is this: I now for the first time come

before a court of justice, though more than seventy years old; I am, therefore, utterly a stranger to the language here. As, then, if I were really a stranger, you would have pardoned me if I spoke in the language and the manner in which I had been educated, so now I ask this of you as an act of justice, as it appears to me, to disregard the manner of my speech, for perhaps it may be somewhat worse, and perhaps better, and to consider this only, and to give your attention to this, whether I speak what is just or not; for this is the virtue of a judge, but of an orator to speak the truth.

First then, O Athenians, I am right in defending myself against the first false accusations alleged against me, and my first accusers, and then against the latest accusations, and the latest accusers. For many have been accusers of me to you, and for many years, who have asserted nothing true, of whom I am more afraid than of Anytus and his party, although they too are formidable; but those are still more formidable, Athenians, who, laying hold of many of you from childhood, have persuaded you, and accused me of what is not true,—“that there is one Socrates, a wise man, who occupies himself about celestial matters, and has explored everything under the earth, and makes the worse appear the better reason.”

Those, O Athenians, who have spread abroad this report are my formidable accusers; for they who hear them think that such as search into these things do not believe that there are gods. In the next place, these accusers are numerous, and have accused me now for a long time; moreover they said these things to you at that time of life in which you were most credulous, when you were boys and some of you youths, and they accused me altogether in my absence, when there was no one to defend me.

But the most unreasonable thing of all is, that it is not

possible to learn and mention their names, except that one of them happens to be a comic poet. Such, however, as influenced by envy and calumny have persuaded you, and those who, being themselves persuaded, have persuaded others, all these are most difficult to deal with; for it is not possible to bring any of them forward here, nor to confute any; but it is altogether necessary, to fight as it were with a shadow, in making my defence, and to convict when there is no one to answer. Consider, therefore, as I have said, that my accusers are twofold, some who have lately accused me, and others long since, whom I have made mention of; and believe that I ought to defend myself against these first; for you heard them accusing me first, and much more than these last.

Well, I must make my defence then, O Athenians, and endeavor in this so short a space of time to remove from your minds the calumny which you have long entertained. I wish, indeed, it might be so, if it were at all better both for you and me, and that in making my defence I could effect something more advantageous still; I think, however, that it will be difficult, and I am not entirely ignorant what the difficulty is. Nevertheless let this turn out as may be pleasing to God, I must obey the law and make my defence.

Let us then repeat from the beginning what the accusation is from which the calumny against me has arisen, and relying on which Melitus has preferred this indictment against me. Well. What then do they who charge me say in their charge? For it is necessary to read their deposition as of public accusers:

“Socrates acts wickedly, and is criminally curious in searching into things under the earth, and in the heavens, and in making the worse appear the better cause, and in teaching these same things to others.”

Such is the accusation; for such things you have yourselves seen in the comedy of Aristophanes, one Socrates there carried about, saying that he walks in the air, and acting many other buffooneries, of which I understand nothing whatever. Nor do I say this as disparaging such a science, if there be any one skilled in such things, only let me not be prosecuted by Melitus on a charge of this kind; but I say it, O Athenians, because I have nothing to do with such matters. And I call upon most of you as witnesses of this, and require you to inform and tell each other, as many of you as have ever heard me conversing; and there are many such among you. Therefore tell each other, if any one of you has ever heard me conversing little or much on such subjects. And from this you will know that other things also, which the multitude assert of me, are of a similar nature.

However not one of these things is true; nor, if you have heard from any one that I attempt to teach men, and require payment, is this true. Though this indeed appears to me to be an honorable thing, if one should be able to instruct men, like Gorgias the Leontine, Prodicus the Cean, and Hippias the Elean. For each of these, O Athenians, is able, by going through the several cities, to persuade the young men, who can attach themselves gratuitously to such of their own fellow citizens as they please, to abandon their fellow citizens and associate with them, giving them money and thanks besides. There is also another wise man here, a Parian, who, I hear, is staying in the city. For I happened to visit a person who spends more money on the sophists than all others together, I mean Callias, son of Hipponicus. I, therefore, asked him, for he has two sons, "Callias," I said, "if your two sons were colts or calves, we should have had to choose a master for them and hire a person who would make them

excel in such qualities as belong to their nature; and he would have been a groom or an agricultural laborer. But now, since your sons are men, what master do you intend to choose for them? Who is there skilled in the qualities that become a man and a citizen? For I suppose you must have considered this, since you have sons. Is there any one," I said, "or not?"

"Certainly," he answered.

"Who is he?" said I, "and whence does he come? and on what terms does he teach?"

He replied, "Evenus the Parian, Socrates, for five minæ."

And I deemed Evenus happy, if he really possesses this art, and teaches so admirably. And I too should think highly of myself and be very proud if I possessed this knowledge; but I possess it not, O Athenians.

Perhaps one of you may now object:

"But, Socrates, what have you done then? Whence have these calumnies against you arisen? For surely if you had not busied yourself more than others, such a report and story would never have got abroad, unless you had done something different from what most men do. Tell us, therefore, what it is, that we may not pass a hasty judgment on you."

He who speaks thus appears to me to speak justly, and I will endeavor to show you what it is that has occasioned me this character and imputation. Listen then: to some of you perhaps I shall appear to jest, yet be assured that I shall tell you the whole truth. For I, O Athenians, have acquired this character through nothing else than a certain wisdom. Of what kind, then, is this wisdom? Perhaps it is merely human wisdom. For in this, in truth, I appear to be wise. They probably, whom I just now mentioned, possessed a wisdom more than human, otherwise I know not what to say about it; for I am not acquainted with it, and whosoever says I am,

speaks falsely and for the purpose of calumniating me. But, O Athenians, do not cry out against me, even though I should seem to you to speak somewhat arrogantly. For the account which I am going to give you is not my own, but I shall refer to an authority whom you will deem worthy of credit. For I shall adduce to you the god at Delphi as a witness of my wisdom, if I have any, and of what it is.

You doubtless know Chærepho: he was my associate from youth, and the associate of most of you; he accompanied you in your late exile and returned with you. You know, then, what kind of a man Chærepho was, how earnest in whatever he undertook. Having once gone to Delphi, he ventured to make the following inquiry of the oracle (and, as I said, O Athenians, do not cry out), for he asked if there was any one wiser than me. The Pythian thereupon answered that there was not one wiser; and of this his brother here will give you proofs, since he himself is dead.

Consider then why I mention these things: it is because I am going to show you whence the calumny against me arose. For when I heard this I reasoned thus with myself, What does the god mean? What enigma is this? For I am not conscious to myself that I am wise, either much or little. What then does he mean by saying that I am the wisest? For assuredly he does not speak falsely; that he cannot do. And for a long time I was in doubt what he meant; afterward with considerable difficulty I had recourse to the following method of searching out his meaning.

I went to one of those who have the character of being wise, thinking that there, if anywhere, I should confute the oracle, and show in answer to the response that this man is wiser than I, though you affirmed that I was the wisest.

Having then examined this man (for there is no occasion

to mention his name, he was, however, one of our great politicians, in examining whom I felt as I proceed to describe, O Athenians), having fallen into conversation with him, this man appeared to me to be wise in the opinion of most other men, and especially in his own opinion, though in fact he was no so. I thereupon endeavored to show him that he fancied himself to be wise, but really was not. Hence I became odious both to him and to many others who were present. When I left him I reasoned thus with myself I am wiser than this man, for neither of us appear to know anything great and good; but he fancies he knows something, although he knows nothing, whereas I, as I do not know anything, so I do not fancy I do. In this trifling particular, then, I appear to be wiser than he, because I do not fancy I know what I do not know.

After that I went to another who was thought to be wiser than the former, and formed the very same opinion. Hence I became odious to him and to many others.

After this I went to others in turn, perceiving indeed and grieving and alarmed that I was making myself odious; however it appeared necessary to regard the oracle of the god as of the greatest moment, and that in order to discover its meaning I must go to all who had the reputation of possessing any knowledge. And by the dog, O Athenians, for I must tell you the truth, I came to some such conclusion as this: those who bore the highest reputation appeared to me to be most deficient, in my researches in obedience to the god, and others who were considered inferior, more nearly approaching to the possession of understanding.

But I must relate to you my wandering, and the labors which I underwent, in order that the oracle might prove incontrovertible. For after the politicians I went to the poets

as well the tragic as the dithyrambic and others, expecting that here I should in very fact find myself more ignorant than them. Taking up, therefore, some of their poems, which appeared to me most elaborately finished, I questioned them as to their meaning, that at the same time I might learn something from them. I am ashamed, O Athenians, to tell you the truth; however, it must be told. For, in a word, almost all who were present could have given a better account of them than those by whom they had been composed. I soon discovered this, therefore, with regard to the poets, that they do not effect their object by wisdom, but by a certain natural inspiration and under the influence of enthusiasm like prophets and seers; for these also say many fine things, but they understand nothing that they say. The poets appeared to me to be affected in a similar manner; and at the same time I perceived that they considered themselves, on account of their poetry, to be the wisest of men in other things, in which they were not. I left them, therefore, under the persuasion that I was superior to them in the same way that I was to the politicians.

At last, therefore, I went to the artisans. For I was conscious to myself that I knew scarcely anything, but I was sure that I should find them possessed of much beautiful knowledge. And in this I was not deceived; for they know things which I did not, and in this respect they were wiser than me. But, O Athenians, even the best workmen appeared to me to have fallen into the same error as the poets; for each, because he excelled in the practice of his art, thought that he was very wise in other most important matters, and this mistake of theirs obscured the wisdom that they really possessed. I therefore asked myself in behalf of the oracle whether I should prefer to continue as I am, possessing none

either of their wisdom or their ignorance, or to have both as they have. I answered, therefore, to myself and to the oracle, that it was better for me to continue as I am.

From this investigation, then, O Athenians, many enmities have arisen against me, and those the most grievous and severe, so that many calumnies have sprung from them and amongst them this appellation of being wise. For those who are from time to time present think that I am wise in those things with respect to which I expose the ignorance of others. The god, however, O Athenians, appears to be really wise, and to mean this by his oracle, that human wisdom is worth little or nothing; and it is clear that he did not say this of Socrates, but made use of my name, putting me forward as an example, as if he had said that man is the wisest among you who, like Socrates, knows that he is in reality worth nothing with respect to wisdom. Still therefore I go about and search and inquire into these things, in obedience to the god, both among citizens and strangers, if I think any one of them is wise; and when he appears to me not to be so, I take the part of the god and show that he is not wise. And in consequence of this occupation I have no leisure to attend in any considerable degree to the affairs of the state or my own; but I am in the greatest poverty through my devotion to the service of the god.

In addition to this, young men, who have much leisure and belong to the wealthiest families, following me of their own accord, take great delight in hearing men put to the test, and often imitate me, and themselves attempt to put others to the test: and then, I think, they find a great abundance of men who fancy they know something, although they know little or nothing. Hence those who are put to the test by them are angry with me, and not with them, and say that "there is one Socrates, a most pestilent fellow, who corrupts the youth."

And when any one asks them by doing or teaching what, they have nothing to say, for they do not know: but that they may not seem to be at a loss they say such things as are ready at hand against all philosophers: "that he searches into things in heaven and things under the earth, that he does not believe there are gods, and that he makes the worse appear the better reason." For they would not, I think, be willing to tell the truth, that they have been detected in pretending to possess knowledge, whereas they know nothing. Therefore, I think, being ambitious and vehement and numerous, and speaking systematically and persuasively about me, they have filled your ears, for a long time and diligently calumniating me. From amongst these, Melitus, Anytus, and Lycon have attacked me; Melitus being angry on account of the poets, Anytus on account of the artisans and politicians, and Lycon on account of the rhetoricians.

So that, as I said in the beginning, I should wonder if I were able in so short a time to remove from your minds a calumny that has prevailed so long. This, O Athenians, is the truth; and I speak it without concealing or disguising anything from you, much or little; though I very well know that by so doing I shall expose myself to odium. This, however, is a proof that I speak the truth, and that this is the nature of the calumny against me, and that these are its causes. And if you will investigate the matter, either now or hereafter, you will find it to be so.

With respect then to the charges which my first accusers have alleged against me, let this be a sufficient apology to you. To Melitus, that good and patriotic man, as he says, and to my later accusers, I will next endeavor to give an answer; and here again, as there are different accusers, let us take up their deposition. It is pretty much as follows: "Socrates," it says,

“acts unjustly in corrupting the youth, and in not believing in those gods in whom the city believes, but in other strange divinities.” Such is the accusation; let us examine each particular of it. It says that I act unjustly in corrupting the youth. But I, O Athenians, say that Melitus acts unjustly, because he jests on serious subjects, rashly putting men upon trial under pretence of being zealous and solicitous about things in which he never at any time took any concern. But that this is the case I will endeavor to prove to you.

Come then, Melitus, tell me; do you not consider it of the greatest importance that the youth should be made as virtuous as possible?

Mel. I do.

Socr. Well now, tell the judges who it is that makes them better, for it is evident that you know, since it concerns you so much: for, having detected me in corrupting them, as you say, you have cited me here and accused me; come then, say, and inform the judges who it is that makes them better. Do you see, Melitus, that you are silent and have nothing to say? But does it not appear to you to be disgraceful and a sufficient proof of what I say, that you never took any concern about the matter? But tell me, friend, who makes them better?

Mel. The laws.

Socr. I do not ask this, most excellent sir, but what man, who surely must first know this very thing, the laws?

Mel. These, Socrates, the judges.

Socr. How say you, Melitus? Are these able to instruct the youth and make them better?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Whether all, or some of them, and others not?

Mel. All.

Socr. You say well, by Juno, and have found a great

abundance of those that confer benefit. But what further? Can these hearers make them better or not?

Mel. They too can.

Socr. And what of the senators?

Mel. The senators also.

Socr. But, Melitus, do those who attend the public assemblies corrupt the younger men? or do they all make them better?

Mel. They too.

Socr. All the Athenians therefore, as it seems, make them honorable and good, except me, but I alone corrupt them. Do you say so?

Mel. I do assert this **very thing**.

Socr. You charge me with great ill-fortune. But answer me: does it appear to you to be the same with respect to horses? do all men make them better, and is there only some one that spoils them? or does quite the contrary of this take place? is there some one person who can make them better, or very few, that is the trainers? but if the generality of men should meddle with and make use of horses, do they spoil them? Is not this the case, Melitus, both with respect to horses and all other animals? It certainly is so, whether you and Anytus deny it or not. For it would be a great good-fortune for the youth if only one person corrupted and the rest benefited them. However, Melitus, you have sufficiently shown that you never bestowed any care upon youth; and you clearly evince your own negligence in that you have never paid any attention to the things with respect to which you accuse me.

Tell us further, Melitus, in the name of Jupiter, whether is it better to dwell with good or bad citizens? Answer, my friend: for I ask you nothing difficult. Do not the bad work some evil to those that are continually near them, but the good **some good**?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Is there any one that wishes to be injured rather than benefited by his associates? Answer, good man: for the law requires you to answer. Is there any one who wishes to be injured?

Mel. No, surely.

Socr. Come, then, whether do you accuse me here, as one that corrupts the youth, and makes them more depraved, designedly or undesignedly?

Mel. Designedly, I say.

Socr. What, then, Melitus, are you at your time of life so much wiser than me at my time of life, as to know that the evil are always working some evil to those that are most near to them, and the good some good; but I have arrived at such a pitch of ignorance as not to know that if I make any one of my associates depraved I shall be in danger of receiving some evil from him, and yet I designedly bring about this so great evil, as you say? In this I cannot believe you, Melitus, nor do I think would any other man in the world: but either I do not corrupt the youth, or, if I do corrupt them, I do it undesignedly: so that in both cases you speak falsely. But if I corrupt them undesignedly, for such involuntary offences it is not usual to accuse one here, but to take one apart and teach and admonish one. For it is evident that if I am taught I shall cease doing what I do undesignedly. But you shunned me, and were not willing to associate with and instruct me, but you accuse me here, where it is usual to accuse those who need punishment and not instruction.

Thus, then, O Athenians, this now is clear that I have said, that Melitus never paid any attention to these matters, much or little. However, tell us, Melitus, how you say I corrupt the youth? Is it not evidently, according to the indictment

which you have preferred, by teaching them not to believe in the gods in whom the city believes, but in other strange deities? Do you not say that by teaching these things, I corrupt the youth?

Mel. Certainly I do say so.

Socr. By those very gods, therefore, Melitus, of whom the discussion now is, speak still more clearly both to me and to these men. For I cannot understand whether you say that I teach them to believe that there are certain gods (and in that case I do believe that there are gods, and am not altogether an atheist, nor in this respect to blame), not, however, those which the city believes in, but others, and this it is that you accuse me of, that I introduce others; or do you say outright that I do not myself believe that there are gods, and that I teach others the same?

Mel. I say this, that you do not believe in any gods at all.

Socr. O wonderful Melitus, how come you to say this? Do I not, then, like the rest of mankind, believe that the sun and moon are gods?

Mel. No, by Jupiter, O judges: for he says that the sun is a stone, and the moon an earth.

Socr. You fancy that you are accusing Anaxagoras, my dear Melitus, and thus you put a slight on these men, and suppose them to be so illiterate as not to know that the books of Anaxagoras of Clazomene are full of such assertions. And the young, moreover, learn these things from me, which they might purchase for a drachma, at most, in the orchestra, and so ridicule Socrates if he pretended they were his own, especially since they are so absurd? I ask then, by Jupiter, do I appear to you to believe that there is no god?

Mel. No, by Jupiter, none whatever.

Socr. You say what is incredible, Melitus, and that, as

appears to me, even to yourself. For this man, O Athenians, appears to me to be very insolent and intemperate, and to have preferred this indictment through downright insolence, intemperance, and wantonness. For he seems, as it were, to have composed an enigma for the purpose of making an experiment. Whether will Socrates the wise know that I am jesting, and contradict myself, or shall I deceive him and all who hear me? For in my opinion he clearly contradicts himself in the indictment, as if he should say, Socrates is guilty of wrong in not believing that there are gods, and in believing that there are gods. And this, surely, is the act of one who is trifling.

Consider with me now, Athenians, in what respect he appears to me to say so. And do you, Melitus, answer me; and do ye, as I besought you at the outset, remember not to make an uproar if I speak after my usual manner.

Is there any man, Melitus, who believes that there are human affairs, but does not believe that there are men? Let him answer, judges, and not make so much noise. Is there any one who does not believe that there are horses, but that there are things pertaining to horses? or who does not believe that there are pipers, but that there are things pertaining to pipes? There is not, O best of men: for since you are not willing to answer, I say it to you and to all here present. But answer to this at least: is there any one who believes that there are things relating to demons, but does not believe that there are demons?

Mel. There is not.

Socr. How obliging you are in having hardly answered, though compelled by these judges. You assert then that I do believe and teach things relating to demons, whether they be new or old; therefore, according to your admission, I do believe in things relating to demons, and this you have sworn

in the bill of indictment. If then I believe in things relating to demons, there is surely an absolute necessity that I should believe that there are demons. Is it not so? It is. For I suppose you to assent, since you do not answer. But with respect to demons, do we not allow that they are gods, or the children of gods? Do you admit this or not?

Mel. Certainly.

Socr. Since then I allow that there are demons as you admit, if demons are a kind of gods, this is the point in which I say you speak enigmatically and divert yourself in saying that I do not allow there are gods, and again that I do allow there are, since I allow that there are demons? But if demons are the children of gods, spurious ones, either from nymphs or any others, of whom they are reported to be, what man can think that there are sons of gods, and yet that there are not gods? For it would be just as absurd, as if any one should think that there are mules the offspring of horses and asses, but should not think there are horses and asses. However, Melitus, it cannot be otherwise than that you have preferred this indictment for the purpose of trying me, or because you were at a loss what real crime to allege against me: for that you should persuade any man who has the smallest degree of sense, that the same person can think that there are things relating to demons and to gods, and yet that there are neither demons, nor gods, nor heroes, is utterly impossible.

That I am not guilty then, O Athenians, according to the indictment of Melitus, appears to me not to require a lengthened defence; but what I have said is sufficient. And as to what I said at the beginning, that there is a great enmity toward me among the multitude, be assured it is true. And this it is which will condemn me, if I am condemned, not Melitus, nor Anytus, but the calumny and envy of the multi-

tude, which have already condemned many others, and those good men, and will I think condemn others also; for there is no danger that it will stop with me.

Perhaps, however, some one may say, "Are you not ashamed, Socrates, to have pursued a study from which you are now in danger of dying?" To such a person I should answer with good reason, You do not say well, friend, if you think that a man, who is even of the least value, ought to take into the account the risk of life or death, and ought not to consider that alone when he performs any action, whether he is acting justly or unjustly and the part of a good man or bad man. For according to your reasoning all those demi-gods that died at Troy would be vile characters, as well all the rest as the son of Thetis, who so far despised danger in comparison of submitting to disgrace, that when his mother, who was a goddess, spoke to him, in his impatience to kill Hector, something to this effect, as I think, "My son, if you revenge the death of your friend Patroclus, and slay Hector, you will yourself die, for," she said, "death awaits you immediately after Hector." But he, on hearing this, despised death and danger, and, dreading much more to live as a coward and not avenge his friends, said: "May I die immediately, when I have inflicted punishment on the guilty, that I may not stay here an object of ridicule, by the curved ships, a burden to the ground?" Do you think that he cared for death and danger? For thus it is, O Athenians, in truth; wherever any one has posted himself, either thinking it to be better, or has been posted by his chief, there, as it appears to me, he ought to remain and meet danger, taking no account either of death or anything else in comparison with disgrace.

I then should be acting strangely, O Athenians, if, when the generals whom you chose to command me assigned me my

post at Potidæa, at Amphipolis, and at Delium, I then remained where they posted me, like any other person, and encountered the danger of death, but when the deity, as I thought and believed, assigned it as my duty to pass my life in the study of philosophy, and in examining myself and others, I should on that occasion, through fear of death or anything else whatsoever, desert my post. Strange indeed would it be, and then in truth any one might justly bring me to trial, and accuse me of not believing in the gods, from disobeying the oracle, fearing death, and thinking myself to be wise when I am not.

For to fear death, O Athenians, is nothing else than to appear to be wise without being so; for it is to appear to know what one does not know. For no one knows but that death is the greatest of all goods to man; but men fear it as if they well knew that it is the greatest of evils. And how is not this the most reprehensible ignorance, to think that one knows what one does not know?

But I, O Athenians, in this perhaps differ from most men; and if I should say that I am in anything wiser than another, it would be in this, that not having a competent knowledge of the things in Hades, I also think that I have not such knowledge. But to act unjustly, and to disobey my superior, whether God or man, I know is evil and base. I shall never, therefore, fear or shun things which, for aught I know, may be good, before evils which I know to be evils. So that even if you should now dismiss me, not yielding to the instances of Anytus, who said that either I should not appear here at all, or that, if I did appear, it was impossible not to put me to death, telling you that if I escaped, your sons, studying what Socrates teaches, would all be utterly corrupted; if you should address me thus, "Socrates, we shall not now yield to Anytus,

but dismiss you, on this condition, however, that you no longer persevere in your researches nor study philosophy, and if hereafter you are detected in so doing, you shall die,"—if, as I said, you should dismiss me on these terms, I should say to you:

"O Athenians, I honor and love you; but I shall obey God rather than you; and as long as I breathe and am able I shall not cease studying philosophy and exhorting you and warning any one of you I may happen to meet, saying, as I have been accustomed to do: 'O best of men, seeing you are an Athenian, of a city the most powerful and most renowned for wisdom and strength, are you not ashamed of being careful for riches, how you may acquire them in greatest abundance, and for glory and honor, but care not nor take any thought for wisdom and truth, and for your soul, how it may be made most perfect?'" And if any one of you should question my assertion and affirm that he does care for these things, I shall not at once let him go, nor depart, but I shall question him, sift and prove him. And if he should appear to me not to possess virtue, but to pretend that he does, I shall reproach him for that he sets the least value on things of the greatest worth, but the highest on things that are worthless.

Thus I shall act to all whom I meet, both young and old, stranger and citizen, but rather to you my fellow citizens, because ye are more nearly allied to me. For be well assured, this the deity commands. And I think that no greater good has ever befallen you in the city than my zeal for the service of the god. For I go about doing nothing else than persuading you, both young and old, to take no care either for the body, or for riches, prior to or so much as for the soul, how it may be made most perfect, telling you that virtue

does not spring from riches, but riches and all other human blessings, both private and public, from virtue. If, then, by saying these things, I corrupt the youth, these things must be mischievous; but if any one says that I speak other things than these, he misleads you. Therefore I must say, O Athenians, either yield to Anytus or do not, either dismiss me or not, since I shall not act otherwise, even though I must die many deaths.

Murmur not, O Athenians, but continue to attend to my request, not to murmur at what I say, but to listen, for, as I think, you will derive benefit from listening. For I am going to say other things to you, at which perhaps you will raise a clamor; but on no account do so. Be well assured, then, if you put me to death, being such a man as I say I am, you will not injure me more than yourselves. For neither will Melitus nor Anytus harm me; nor have they the power; for I do not think that it is possible for a better man to be injured by a worse. He may perhaps have me condemned to death, or banished or deprived of civil rights; and he or others may perhaps consider these as mighty evils; I, however, do not consider them so, but that it is much more so to do what he is now doing — to endeavor to put a man to death unjustly.

Now, therefore, O Athenians, I am far from making a defence on my own behalf, as any one might think, but I do so on your behalf, lest by condemning me you should offend at all with respect to the gift of the deity to you. For, if you should put me to death, you will not easily find such another, though it may be ridiculous to say so, altogether attached by the deity to this city as to a powerful and generous horse, somewhat sluggish from his size, and requiring to be roused by a gad-fly; so the deity appears to have united me, being such a person as I am, to the city, that I may rouse

you, and persuade and reprove every one of you, nor ever cease besetting you throughout the whole day. Such another man, O Athenians, will not easily be found; therefore, if you will take my advice, you will spare me.

But you, perhaps, being irritated, like drowsy persons who are roused from sleep, will strike me, and, yielding to Anytus, will unthinkingly condemn me to death; and then you will pass the rest of your life in sleep, unless the deity, caring for you, should send some one else to you. But that I am a person who has been given by the deity to this city, you may discern from hence; for it is not like the ordinary conduct of men that I should have neglected all my own affairs and suffered my private interest to be neglected for so many years, and that I should constantly attend to your concerns, addressing myself to each of you separately, like a father or elder brother, persuading you to the pursuit of virtue. And if I had derived any profit from this course, and had received pay for my exhortations, there would have been some reason for my conduct; but now you see yourselves that my accusers, who have so shamelessly calumniated me in everything else, have not had the impudence to charge me with this, and to bring witnesses to prove that I ever either exacted or demanded any reward. And I think I produce a sufficient proof that I speak the truth, namely, my poverty.

Perhaps, however, it may appear absurd, that I, going about, thus advise you in private and make myself busy, but never venture to present myself in public before your assemblies and give advice to the city. The cause of this is that which you have often and in many places heard me mention: because I am moved by a certain divine and spiritual influence, which also Melitus, through mockery, has set out in the indictment. This began with me from childhood, being a kind of

voice which, when present, always diverts me from what I am about to do, but never urges me on. This it is which opposed my meddling in public politics; and it appears to me to have opposed me very properly. For be well assured, O Athenians, if I had long since attempted to intermeddle with politics, I should have perished long ago, and should not have at all benefited you or myself. And be not angry with me for speaking the truth. For it is not possible that any man should be safe, who sincerely opposes either you, or any other multitude, and who prevents many unjust and illegal actions from being committed in a city; but it is necessary that he who in earnest contends for justice, if he will be safe for but a short time, should live privately, and take no part in public affairs.

I will give you strong proofs of this, not words, but, what you value, facts. Hear then what has happened to me, that you may know that I would not yield to any one contrary to what is just, through fear of death, at the same time that, by not yielding, I must perish. I shall tell you what will be displeasing and wearisome, yet true. For I, O Athenians, never bore any other magisterial office in the city, but have been a senator: and our Antiochean tribe happened to supply the Prytanes when you chose to condemn in a body the ten generals, who had not taken off those that perished in the sea-fight, in violation of the law, as you afterwards all thought. At that time I alone of the Prytanes opposed your doing anything contrary to the laws, and I voted against you; and when the orators were ready to denounce me, and to carry me before a magistrate, and you urged and cheered them on, I thought I ought rather to meet the danger with law and justice on my side than, through fear of imprisonment or death, to take part with you in your unjust designs. And this happened while the city was governed by a democracy. But when it became

an oligarchy, the Thirty, having sent for me with four others to the Tholus, ordered us to bring Leon the Salaminian from Salamis, that he might be put to death; and they gave many similar orders to many others, wishing to involve as many as they could in guilt. Then, however, I showed, not in word, but in deed, that I did not care for death, if the expression be not too rude, in the smallest degree, but that all my care was to do nothing unjust or unholy. For that government, strong as it was, did not so overawe me as to make me commit an unjust action; but when we came out from the Tholus, the four went to Salamis and brought back Leon; but I went away home. And perhaps for this I should have been put to death if that government had not been speedily broken up. And of this you can have many witnesses.

Do you think, then, that I should have survived so many years if I had engaged in public affairs, and, acting as becomes a good man, had aided the cause of justice, and, as I ought, had deemed this of the highest importance? Far from it, O Athenians: nor would any other man have done so. But I, through the whole of my life, if I have done anything in public, shall be found to be a man, and the very same in private, who has never made a concession to any one contrary to justice, neither to any other, nor to any one of these whom my calumniators say are my disciples. I, however, was never the preceptor of any one; but if any one desired to hear me speaking and to see me busied about my own mission, whether he were young or old, I never refused him. Nor do I discourse when I receive money, and not when I do not receive any, but I allow both rich and poor alike to question me, and, if any one wishes it, to answer me and hear what I have to say. And for these, whether any one proves to be a good man or not, I cannot justly be responsible, because I never either

promised them any instruction or taught them at all. But if any one says that he has ever learned or heard anything from me in private, which all others have not, be well assured that he does not speak the truth.

But why do some delight to spend so long a time with me? Ye have heard, O Athenians. I have told you the whole truth, that they delight to hear those closely questioned who think that they are wise but are not: for this is by no means disagreeable. But this duty, as I say, has been enjoined me by the deity, by oracles, by dreams, and by every mode by which any other divine decree has ever enjoined anything to man to do. These things, O Athenians, are both true, and easily confuted if not true. For if I am now corrupting some of the youths, and have already corrupted others, it were fitting, surely, that if any of them, having become advanced in life, had discovered that I gave them bad advice when they were young, they should now rise up against me, accuse me, and have me punished; or if they were themselves unwilling to do this, some of their kindred, their fathers, or brothers, or other relatives, if their kinsmen have ever sustained any damage from me, should now call it to mind.

Many of them, however, are here present, whom I see: first, Crito, my contemporary and fellow-burgher, father of this Critobulus; then, Lysanias of Sphettus, father of this Æschines; again, Antiphon of Cephissus, father of Epigenes; there are those others too, whose brothers maintained the same intimacy with me, namely, Nicostratus, son of Theosdotidis, brother of Theodotus,—Theodotus indeed is dead, so that he could not deprecate his brother's proceedings,—and Paralus here, son of Demodocus, whose brother was Theages; and Adimantus son of Ariston, whose brother is this Plato; and Æantodorus, whose brother is this Apollodorus.

I could also mention many others to you, some one of whom certainly Melitus ought to have adduced in his speech as a witness. If, however, he then forgot to do so, let him now adduce them, I give him leave to do so, and let him say it, if he has anything of the kind to allege. But quite contrary to this, you will find, O Athenians, all ready to assist me, who have corrupted and injured their relatives, as Melitus and Anytus say. For those who have been themselves corrupted might perhaps have some reason for assisting me; but those who have not been corrupted, men now advanced in life, their relatives, what other reason can they have for assisting me, except that right and just one, that they know that Melitus speaks falsely and that I speak the truth.

Well then, Athenians; these are pretty much the things I have to say in my defence, and others perhaps of the same kind. Perhaps, however, some among you will be indignant on recollecting his own case, if he, when engaged in a cause far less than this, implored and besought the judges with many tears, bringing forward his children in order that he might excite their utmost compassion, and many others of his relatives and friends, whereas I do none of these things, although I may appear to be incurring the extremity of danger. Perhaps, therefore, some one, taking notice of this, may become more determined against me, and, being enraged at this very conduct of mine, may give his vote under the influence of anger. If then any one of you is thus affected—I do not, however, suppose that there is—but if there should be, I think I may reasonably say to him; “I too, O best of men, have relatives; for to make use of that saying of Homer, I am not sprung from an oak, nor from a rock, but from men, so that I too, O Athenians, have relatives, and three sons, one now grown up, and two boys; I shall not, however, bring

any one of them forward and implore you to acquit me." Why then shall I not do this?

Not from contumacy, O Athenians, nor disrespect towards you. Whether or not I am undaunted at the prospect of death, is another question, but out of regard to my own character, and yours, and that of the whole city, it does not appear to me to be honorable that I should do anything of this kind at my age, and with the reputation I have, whether true or false. For it is commonly agreed that Socrates in some respects excels the generality of men. If, then, those among you who appear to excel either in wisdom, or fortitude, or any other virtue whatsoever, should act in such a manner as I have often seen some when they have been brought to trial, it would be shameful, who, appearing indeed to be something, have conducted themselves in a surprising manner, as thinking they should suffer something dreadful by dying, and as if they would be immortal if you did not put them to death. Such men appear to me to bring disgrace on the city, so that any stranger might suppose that such of the Athenians as excel in virtue, and whom they themselves choose in preference to themselves for magistracies and other honors, are in no respect superior to women.

For these things, O Athenians, neither ought we to do who have attained to any height of reputation, nor, should we do them, ought you to suffer us; but you should make this manifest, that you will much rather condemn him who introduces these piteous dramas, and makes the city ridiculous, than him who quietly awaits your decision.

But reputation apart, O Athenians, it does not appear to me to be right to entreat a judge, or to escape by entreaty, but one ought to inform and persuade him. For a judge does not sit for the purpose of administering justice out

of favor, but that he may judge rightly, and he is sworn not to show favor to whom he pleases, but that he will decide according to the laws. It is therefore right that neither should we accustom you, nor should you accustom yourselves to violate your oaths; for in so doing neither of us would act righteously.

Think not then, O Athenians, that I ought to adopt such a course towards you as I neither consider honorable, nor just, nor holy, as well, by Jupiter, on any other occasion, and now especially when I am accused of impiety by this Miletus. For clearly, if I should persuade you, and by my entreaties should put a constraint on you who are bound by an oath, I should teach you to think that there are no gods, and in reality, while making my defence, should accuse myself of not believing in the gods. This, however, is far from being the case: for I believe, O Athenians, as none of my accusers do, and I leave it to you and to the deity to judge concerning me in such way as will be best both for me and for you.

[Socrates here concludes his defence, and, the votes being taken, he is declared guilty by a majority of voices. He thereupon resumes his address.]

That I should not be grieved, O Athenians, at what has happened, namely, that you have condemned me, as well many other circumstances concur in bringing to pass, and moreover this, that what has happened has not happened contrary to my expectation; but I much rather wonder at the number of votes on either side. For I did not expect that I should be condemned by so small a number, but by a large majority; but now, as it seems, if only three more votes had changed sides, I should have been acquitted. As far as Melitus is concerned, as it appears to me, I have been already acquitted, and not only have I been acquitted, but it is clear

to every one that had not Anytus and Lycon come forward to accuse me, he would have been fined a thousand drachmas, for not having obtained a fifth part of the votes.

The man then awards me the penalty of death. Well. But what shall I, on my part, O Athenians, award myself? Is it not clear that it will be such as I deserve? What then is that? do I deserve to suffer or to pay a fine, for that I have purposely during my life not remained quiet, but, neglecting what most men seek after,—money-making, domestic concerns, military command, popular oratory, and moreover all the magistracies, conspiracies and cabals that are met with in the city,—thinking that I was in reality too upright a man to be safe if I took part in such things, I therefore did not apply myself to those pursuits, by attending to which I should have been of no service either to you or to myself; but in order to confer the greatest benefit on each of you privately, as I affirm, I thereupon applied myself to that object, endeavoring to persuade every one of you not to take any care of his own affairs, before he had taken care of himself, in what way he may become the best and wisest, nor of the affairs of the city before he took care of the city itself; and that he should attend to other things in the same manner.

What treatment then do I deserve, seeing I am such a man? Some reward, O Athenians, if at least I am to be estimated according to my real deserts; and moreover such a reward as would be suitable to me. What then is suitable to a poor man, a benefactor, and who has need of leisure in order to give you good advice? There is nothing so suitable, O Athenians, as that such a man should be maintained in the Prytaneum, and this much more than if one of you had been victorious at the Olympic games in a horse race, or in the two or four-horsed chariot race: for such a one makes you appear

to be happy, but I, to be so: and he does not need support, but I do. If, therefore, I must award a sentence according to my just deserts, I award this, maintenance in the Prytaneum.

Perhaps, however, in speaking to you thus, I appear to you to speak in the same presumptuous manner as I did respecting commiseration and entreaties: but such is not the case, O Athenians, it is rather this. I am persuaded that I never designedly injured any man, though I cannot persuade you of this, for we have conversed with each other but for a short time. For if there was the same law with you as with other men, that in capital cases the trial should last not only one day but many, I think you would be persuaded; but it is not easy in a short time to do away with great calumnies.

Being persuaded then that I have injured no one, I am far from intending to injure myself, and of pronouncing against myself that I am deserving of punishment, and from awarding myself anything of the kind. Through fear of what? lest I should suffer that which Melitus awards me, of which I say I know not whether it be good or evil? instead of this, shall I choose what I well know to be evil, and award that? Shall I choose imprisonment? And why should I live in prison, a slave to the established magistracy, the Eleven? Shall I choose a fine, and to be imprisoned until I have paid it? But this is the same as that which I just now mentioned, for I have not money to pay it. Shall I then award myself exile? For perhaps you would consent to this award. I should indeed be very fond of life, O Athenians, if I were so devoid of reason as not to be able to reflect that you, who are my fellow citizens, have been unable to endure my manner of life and discourses, but they have become so burdensome and odious to you, that you now seek to be rid of them; others, however, will easily bear them; far from it, O Athenians.

A fine life it would be for me at my age to go out wandering and driven from city to city, and so to live. For I well know that, wherever I may go, the youth will listen to me when I speak, as they do here. And if I repulse them they will themselves drive me out, persuading the elders; and if I do not repulse them, their fathers and kindred will banish me on their account.

Perhaps, however, some one will say, Can you not, Socrates, when you have gone from us, live a silent and quiet life? This is the most difficult thing of all to persuade some of you. For if I say that that would be to disobey the deity, and that therefore it is impossible for me to live quietly, you would not believe me, thinking I spoke ironically. If, on the other hand, I say that this is the greatest good to man, to discourse daily on virtue, and other things which you have heard me discussing, examining both myself and others, but that a life without investigation is not worth living for, still less would you believe me if I said this. Such, however, is the case, as I affirm, O Athenians, though it is not easy to persuade you. And at the same time I am not accustomed to think myself deserving of any ill.

If indeed I were rich, I would amerce myself in such a sum as I should be able to pay; for then I should have suffered no harm, but now—for I cannot, unless you are willing to amerce me in such a sum as I am able to pay. But perhaps I could pay you a mina of silver; in that sum then I amerce myself. But Plato here, O Athenians, and Crito, Critobulus, and Apollodorus bid me amerce myself in thirty minæ, and they offer to be sureties. I amerce myself then to you in that sum; and they will be sufficient sureties for the money.

[The judges now proceeded to pass the sentence, and condemned Socrates to death; whereupon he continued:]

For the sake of no long space of time, O Athenians, you will incur the character and reproach at the hands of those who wish to defame the city, of having put that wise man, Socrates, to death. For those who wish to defame you will assert that I am wise, though I am not. If, then, you had waited for a short time, this would have happened of its own accord; for observe my age, that it is far advanced in life, and near death. But I say this not to you all, but to those only who have condemned me to die. And I say this too to the same persons. Perhaps you think, O Athenians, that I have been convicted through the want of arguments, by which I might have persuaded you, had I thought it right to do and say anything so that I might escape punishment. Far otherwise: I have been convicted through want indeed, yet not of arguments, but of audacity and impudence, and of the inclination to say such things to you as would have been most agreeable for you to hear, had I lamented and bewailed and done and said many other things unworthy of me, as I affirm, but such as you are accustomed to hear from others.

But neither did I then think that I ought, for the sake of avoiding danger, to do anything unworthy of a freeman, nor do I now repent of having so defended myself; but I should much rather choose to die having so defended myself than to live in that way. For neither in a trial nor in battle is it right that I or any one else should employ every possible means whereby he may avoid death; for in battle it is frequently evident that a man might escape death by laying down his arms and throwing himself on the mercy of his pursuers. And there are many other devices in every danger, by which to avoid death, if a man dares to do and say everything.

But this is not difficult, O Athenians, to escape death, but it is much more difficult to avoid depravity, for it runs swifter

than death. And now I, being slow and aged, am overtaken by the slower of the two; but my accusers, being strong and active, have been overtaken by the swifter, wickedness. And now I depart, condemned by you to death; but they condemned by truth, as guilty of iniquity and injustice: and I abide my sentence and so do they. These things, perhaps, ought so to be, and I think that they are for the best.

In the next place, I desire to predict to you who have condemned me, what will be your fate: for I am now in that condition in which men most frequently prophecy, namely, when they are about to die. I say then to you, O Athenians, who have condemned me to death, that immediately after my death a punishment will overtake you, far more severe, by Jupiter, than that which you have inflicted on me. For you have done this thinking you should be freed from the necessity of giving an account of your life. The very contrary however, as I affirm, will happen to you. Your accusers will be more numerous, whom I have now restrained, though you did not perceive it; and they will be more severe, inasmuch as they are younger and you will be more indignant. For, if you think that by putting men to death you will restrain any one from upbraiding you because you do not live well, you are much mistaken; for this method of escape is neither possible nor honorable, but that other is most honorable and most easy, not to put a check upon others, but for a man to take heed to himself, how he may be most perfect. Having predicted thus much to those of you who have condemned me, I take my leave of you.

But with you who have voted for my acquittal, I would gladly hold converse on what has now taken place, while the magistrates are busy and I am not yet carried to the place where I must die. Stay with me then, so long, O Athenians,

for nothing hinders our conversing with each other, whilst we are permitted to do so; for I wish to make known to you, as being my friends, the meaning of that which has just now befallen me. To me then, O my judges,—and in calling you judges I call you rightly,—a strange thing has happened. For the wonted prophetic voice of my guardian deity, on every former occasion, even in the most trifling affairs, opposed me, if I was about to do anything wrong; but now, that has befallen me which ye yourselves behold, and which any one would think and which is supposed to be the extremity of evil, yet neither when I departed from home in the morning did the warning of the god oppose me, nor when I came up here to the place of trial, nor in my address when I was about to say anything; yet on other occasions it has frequently restrained me in the midst of speaking. But now it has never throughout this proceeding opposed me, either in what I did or said. What then do I suppose to be the cause of this? I will tell you: what has befallen me appears to be a blessing; and it is impossible that we think rightly who suppose that death is an evil. A great proof of this to me is the fact that it is impossible but that the accustomed signal should have opposed me, unless I had been about to meet with some good.

Moreover, we may hence conclude that there is great hope that death is a blessing. For to die is one of two things: for either the dead may be annihilated and have no sensation of anything whatever; or, as it is said, there is a certain change and passage of the soul from one place to another. And if it is a privation of all sensation, as it were, a sleep in which the sleeper has no dream, death would be a wonderful gain. For I think that if any one, having selected a night in which he slept so soundly as not to have had a dream, and having compared this night with all the other nights and days

of his life, should be required on consideration to say how many days and nights he had passed better and more pleasantly than this night throughout his life, I think that not only a private person, but even a great king himself would find them easy to number in comparison with other days and nights. If, therefore, death is a thing of this kind, I say it is a gain; for thus all futurity appears to be nothing more than one night.

But if, on the other hand, death is a removal from hence to another place, and what is said be true, that all the dead are there, what greater blessing can there be than this, my judges? For if, on arriving at Hades, released from these who pretend to be judges, one shall find those who are true judges, and who are said to judge there, Minos and Rhadamanthus, Æacus and Triptolemus, and such others of the demigods as were just during their own life, would this be a sad removal? At what price would you not estimate a conference with Orpheus and Musæus, Hesiod and Homer? I indeed should be willing to die often, if this be true. For to me the sojourn there would be admirable, when I should meet with Palamedes, and Ajax, son of Telamon, and any other of the ancients who has died by an unjust sentence. The comparing my sufferings with theirs would, I think, be no unpleasing occupation. But the greatest pleasure would be to spend my time in questioning and examining the people there as I have done those here, and discovering who among them is wise, and who fancies himself to be so but is not. At what price, my judges, would not any one estimate the opportunity of questioning him who led that mighty army against Troy, or Ulysses, or Sisyphus, or ten thousand others, whom one might mention, both men and women? with whom to converse and associate, and to question them, would be an inconceivable happiness. Surely for that the judges there do not condemn to death; for in other respects

those who live there are more happy than those that are here, and are henceforth immortal, if at least what is said be true.

You, therefore, O my judges, ought to entertain good hopes with respect to death, and to meditate on this one truth, that to a good man nothing is evil, neither while living nor when dead, nor are his concerns neglected by the gods. And what has befallen me is not the effect of chance; but this is clear to me, that now to die, and be freed from my cares, is better for me. On this account the warning in no way turned me aside; and I bear no resentment towards those who condemned me, or against my accusers, although they did not condemn and accuse me with this intention, but thinking to injure me: in this they deserve to be blamed.

Thus much, however, I beg of them. Punish my sons, when they grow up, O judges, paining them as I have pained you, if they appear to you to care for riches or anything else before virtue, and if they think themselves to be something when they are nothing, reproach them as I have done you, for not attending to what they ought, and for conceiving themselves to be something when they are worth nothing. If ye do this, both I and my sons shall have met with just treatment at your hands.

But it is now time to depart,— for me to die, for you to live. But which of us is going to a better state is unknown to every one but God.

[Translated from Plato by Henry Cary, M.A.]

ANDOCIDES



ANDOCIDES, Attic orator, politician, and leader of the oligarchic faction at Athens, was born of a noble family at Athens about 467 B.C., and died about 391 B.C. He served the state as an ambassador on several occasions. At the age of twenty-five, he was exiled on the charge of profaning the Eleusinian Mysteries and mutilating the statues of Hermes, and sixteen years later was tried for the offence and formally acquitted. "History," says Professor Jebb, "knows him only under a cloud." He seems to have been endowed with an abundance of practical good sense, though nothing of genius appeared in him, and while in banishment he rendered important services to the state. His talents as an orator were presumably developed in the popular assembly rather than in any school of rhetoric, and his speeches, for that reason, perhaps, are devoid of mannerisms and are straightforward in character as well as unadorned. The best of his four orations is that "On the Mysteries." The others are "On the Return," which is very brief; "On Alcibiades," of doubtful authenticity; and "On the Peace with Lacedæmon." As related to the history and social life of the time his speeches are of importance. See Jebb's "Attic Orators," with English notes by Marchant (1889).

SPEECH ON THE MYSTERIES

[Andocides, upon his return to Athens, was accused of having profaned the Mysteries and mutilated the Hermæ. Against this charge of impiety he defended himself in the following speech:]

THE preparation and zeal of my enemies, gentlemen, to do me harm in every way, justly or unjustly, from the very time I arrived in this city, are by no means unknown to you. It is therefore unnecessary for me to speak at length on this matter. I shall make of you, however, a request that is both just and as easy for you to grant as it is important for me to obtain. I ask you to bear in mind that I have come here now, when there was no necessity of my remaining in the city, and although I did not offer bail, and was not committed to prison. I have appeared before you simply because I have confidence in the justice of my cause,

and firmly believe that you will decide fairly, and will rather justly acquit me in accordance with your laws and your oaths, than suffer me to be unjustly destroyed by my enemies.

It is only natural, gentlemen, that you should have the same opinion of a man that he has of himself. If he is unwilling to undergo trial and thus condemns himself, it is only reasonable that you too should condemn him. But if, confident in his innocence, he awaits your judgment, you should be predisposed to acquit him. At least you ought not to condemn him by a premature verdict of guilty.

My enemies are reported to have said that I would not dare to undergo trial, but would seek safety in flight. "For what object," they say, "can Andocides have in submitting to trial when it is possible for him to leave the city and have all the necessities and conveniences of life elsewhere? In Cyprus, where he formerly lived, he has a large amount of good land, bestowed on him as a gift. Can he, then, be willing to put his life in jeopardy? For what purpose? Does he not perceive the feeling of our city towards him?"

My feeling in this matter, gentlemen, is very different from what my enemies suppose. Even though I do not, as these men assert, share the good will of my countrymen, I am unwilling to live elsewhere in affluence—an exile from my native land. I should much prefer to be a citizen of this commonwealth than of all others, however prosperous they may now seem to be. It is with such a feeling of patriotism that I entrust my life to your decision.

I ask you, then, gentlemen, to accord me in my defence a preponderance of your good will, since you know that, even if you grant both parties to the suit an impartial hearing, I, the defendant, must necessarily be at a disadvantage. For the prosecution, after long preparation, bring this indictment

against me without danger to themselves. But I must make my defence in fear and trembling for my life, and weighed down by the obloquy that has been heaped upon me. It is, therefore, only reasonable that you should favor me rather than the prosecution. There is a further consideration to dispose you in my favor. Prosecutors have frequently been found to bring charges so palpably false that you could not but convict and punish them. Witnesses, too, who have been instrumental in bringing about the condemnation of innocent men, have been convicted only after it was too late to save the guiltless victims of their false testimony. Guided, then, and warned by the experience of the past, you will not take for granted the truth of what my accusers say. The magnitude of the charge against me you can learn from the prosecution; but the truth or falseness of that charge you cannot know until you have heard my defence.

Now, how to begin my defence, gentlemen, perplexes me not a little. I feel considerable doubt whether I ought first to show you that the prosecution have brought the wrong form of action against me; or that the decree of Isotimidas is null and void; or that certain laws and oaths forbid this action; or whether I ought to tell you all the facts from beginning to end. But what most perplexes me is the fact that you do not all perhaps regard as equally serious the same points in the charge against me. Each one of you, I suppose, has in mind some point about which he would like to have me speak first. Since, however, it is impossible to speak of all points at one and the same time, I shall set before you all the facts in order from beginning to end, omitting nothing. For if you get a right understanding of the facts you will readily perceive how false a charge the prosecution have brought against me.

I think, then, that you feel disposed of your own accord to

pronounce a just sentence. And I am led to this conclusion, because I have observed that you always consider it a matter of the greatest importance, both in private and public affairs, to vote according to your oaths. It is this very thing that holds the state together, much against the will of those who would have it otherwise. Confiding, then, in your sense of justice, I ask you to hear my defence with good will, and not to act the part of adversaries in this suit. Suspect not the truth of my statements, and ensnare not my words. Hear me patiently to the end, and then pronounce whatever judgment you deem best and most in accordance with your oaths. . . .

Now with regard to the information laid on account of the mutilation of the images, I will tell you everything from the beginning. When, then, Teucrus came from Megara, having obtained special permission, he gave what information he had about the Mysteries and images, and denounced eighteen men. Of the men thus denounced, some fled, and others were arrested and put to death on the strength of this information. Those who fled have returned and are now here. Many relatives of those who were put to death are likewise present. I ask, then, any one of these, who will, to interrupt me in the course of my argument and show, if he can, that I was the cause of exile or death in a single case.

After this had taken place, Pisander and Charicles, who were members of the commission of inquiry, and had the reputation at that time of being loyal to the people, declared that what had been done was not the work of merely a few men, but part of a conspiracy to overthrow the commonwealth, and that they ought, therefore, to continue the investigation.

The city was then in a sorry plight. When the herald

made proclamation for the Senate to enter the council chamber and hauled down the signal, the trouble began. Then it was that the conspirators fled from the market-place in fear of arrest. Then, too, Diocleides, elated with hope over the misfortunes of the city, brought an impeachment before the Senate, declaring that he knew the men who had mutilated the Hermæ, and that they were thirty in number. He told how he chanced to be an eye-witness of the affair. Now I ask you, judges, to give your attention to this matter, and recall whether I speak the truth, refreshing each other's memories; for Diocleides spoke in your midst. To that fact you yourselves can testify.

Diocleides, you will remember, said that he had a slave at Laurium, and that he had occasion to go for a payment due to him. "He rose early in the morning, mistaking the hour, and started on his way. The moon was full. When he got near the gateway of Dionysus, he saw several men going down from the Odeum into the orchestra of the theatre. Afraid of them, he drew into the shade, and crouched down between the pillar and the column with the bronze statue of the General. He saw the men, about three hundred in number, standing around in groups of fifteen and twenty. Most of them he recognized in the light of the moon." Thus, in the first place, judges, he assumed this story—a most extraordinary one—in order, I fancy, that it might rest with him to include in this list any Athenian he pleased, or at pleasure to exempt him. After he had seen all this, he went, he said, to Laurium, where he learned on the following day that the Hermæ had been mutilated. He knew at once that it was the work of the men he had seen in the night. Returning to the city he learned that a commission of inquiry had been appointed and that a reward of a hundred minæ had

been offered for information. Seeing Euphemus, the brother of Callias, the son of Telecles, sitting in his smithy, he brought him into the Hephæsteum and told him how he had seen us on that night. Now, he said, he did not desire to receive a reward from the city rather than from us, if he could have us for friends. Euphemus said that he did well to tell him, and asked him to come to the house of Leogoras, that they might there confer with Andocides and the other needful persons. He came, he declared, on the following day, and knocked at the door. He met my father going out, who said to him: "Are you the visitor whom the company here expect? Well, you ought not to reject such friends," and with these words he was gone. In this way he sought to ruin my father, denouncing him as a confederate. He then stated that we told him we had decided to give him two talents instead of a hundred minæ, as offered by the state for information, and that we pledged ourselves, in the event of our success, to make him one of us. His reply, he said, was that he would think it over. We then asked him, he maintained, to come to the house of Callias, the son of Telecles, that he, too, might be present. Thus he sought to ruin also my kinsman. He came, he said, to the house of Callias, concluded an agreement with us, and gave us pledges on the Acropolis, but we failed to pay him, as agreed, the following month. He came, therefore, he said, to give information about what had been done. Such, judges, was his impeachment. . . .

Now, after we were all arrested and the prison doors were shut at night, there came the mother of one man, the sister of another, and the wife and children of another. Then they wept and bewailed their misfortunes. And Charmides, a cousin of my own age, who had been brought up in our house

from childhood, said to me: "Andocides, you see how great our calamity is. Although, then, heretofore, I had no wish to speak or to give you pain, yet I am now constrained to do so by our present evil. For all your friends and associates, except us, your relations, have either been put to death for the reasons on account of which we now perish, or have gone into exile, thereby condemning themselves. If, then, you know anything of this matter, tell it, and save first yourself, then your father, whom you ought to love exceedingly, then your brother-in-law, who married your only sister, then the rest of your numerous kinsmen and relatives, and finally me, who never grieved you in my whole life, but have ever been most eager to do whatever was for your interest."

Now when Charmides had said this, judges, and each of the others besought and supplicated me, I reflected how unhappy I was to have fallen into such misfortune. Was I to see my kinsmen put to death unjustly and their property confiscated, and see those who were in no sense to blame for what had been done have their names inscribed on columns as impious sinners against the gods? Was I further to see three hundred Athenians perish undeservedly, the city involved in calamity, and the citizens suspicious of one another? Was I, I ask, to sit by idly and see all this, or was it my place to tell the people of Athens what I had heard from Euphiletus himself, the man who committed the outrage? I further reflected, judges, that of those who had wrought the deed of shame some had been put to death on the information of Teucus, and others, having gone into exile, had sentence of death passed upon them in their absence. Four remained, who had not been informed against by Teucus,—Panætius, Chæredemus, Diacritus, and Lysistratus. These men above all seemed likely to have been confederates of those against

whom Diocleides had informed, since they were their intimate friends. For these men, then, safety was never secure; but over my own relatives hung certain destruction, unless some one told the people of Athens the actual facts. It seemed to me, therefore, better to deprive these four men of their country, who are still alive and have returned to enjoy their patrimony, than to see my own suffer an unjust death. Such were my reflections.

If now any of you, judges, had a preconceived idea that I gave information to ruin those men and save myself — an assertion that my enemies make in their attempt to asperse my character — examine that idea in the light of the facts. For I must now give a truthful account of my doings in the presence of the very men who perpetrated the crime and then fled. They know best whether I lie or speak the truth, and may confute me, if they can, in the course of my speech; for I appeal to them. But you must learn the facts. For in this trial, judges, nothing is so important for me as that, if acquitted, I should be acquitted with honor; and, further, that the general public should understand my whole conduct to have been absolutely free from baseness or cowardice. I told what I had heard from Euphiletus through solicitude for my friends and kinsmen, through solicitude for the whole city, with courage and not cowardice. If, then, this is so, I ask you to acquit me and not to think me base.

Now consider — for a judge ought to examine the facts by a human standard, as if the misfortune had been his own — what would any one of you have done? If it had been a question of death with honor or life with shame, you might condemn my conduct as cowardice. And yet many would have chosen life in preference to an honorable death. But here the case was the very reverse: by keeping silent I must

have perished ignominiously in my innocence, and must also have permitted the destruction of my father, of my brother-in-law, of all my cousins and relations, whom I and no one else threatened with death, by concealing the guilt of others. The falsehoods of Diocleides had sent them to prison; their only hope of deliverance lay in the Athenians learning the whole truth. I was in danger, therefore, of becoming their murderer, if I failed to tell you what I had heard. I was also in danger of destroying three hundred Athenians, and of involving Athens in the most serious evils. This, then, was the prospect, if I were silent.

How different the prospect if I made known the truth! Then I should save myself, my father, and my kinsmen, and should deliver the city from dangers and misfortunes. Accordingly four men who participated in the crime were driven into exile through me. I had nothing, however, to do with the death or exile of the men against whom Teucus had laid information. Considering all this, judges, I concluded that the least of the pressing evils was to tell the whole truth, and, by convicting Diocleides of falsifying, to have him punished — a man who sought to ruin us unjustly by deceiving the city, and who, for so doing, was proclaimed a public benefactor and received money from the state. I therefore told the Senate that I knew the men who did the act; that, while we were at a banquet, Euphiletus suggested this scheme, which was not carried out then on account of my opposition; but that later, when I had fallen from my horse in the Cynosarges, and had broken my collar-bone and cut my head, so that I had to be carried home on a stretcher, Euphiletus, seeing my condition, told his confederates that I had agreed to co-operate with them and would mutilate the Hermes by the Phorbanteum. Thus did he deceive them. Yet on that very

account the *Hermes* near my father's house, dedicated by the *Ægean* tribe, is, as you all know, the only one in Athens not mutilated; for that task, as *Euphiletus* told his companions, was assigned to me. When they found this out, they were furious, because I knew of the deed without having had a hand in it. On the following day *Meletus* and *Euphiletus* came to me and said: "We have done the deed, *Andocides*. And if you think fit to remain silent, you will have our friendship as heretofore; otherwise our enmity will be more effectual than any friendships you can make by betraying us." Thereupon I told them that I considered *Euphiletus* a villain, and that they ought to feel furious, not because I knew it, but because they had done the abominable deed. In support of this statement I gave up my own slave for the torture, to prove that I had been ill and unable even to leave my bed; and the Presidents received the female slaves for examination in the house from which the conspirators set forth to begin their work. After the Senate and the commission of inquiry found out that everything was just as I had stated, they summoned *Diocleides*. No words were wasted. He at once admitted that he had lied, and asked to be spared on condition of revealing the men who had put him up to it. He said they were *Alcibiades* of the deme of *Phegeus* and *Amiantus* from *Ægina*; both of whom fled in fear. After you had heard this you imprisoned *Diocleides* and put him to death, but delivered my relatives from destruction—all on my account. Moreover you allowed the exiles to return; and you yourselves were freed from great dangers and evils.

Wherefore, judges, you ought to pity me in my misfortune; nay, you ought to hold me in honor for what I have done. When *Euphiletus* proposed the most traitorous of all compacts, I opposed him, and upbraided him as he deserved.

Yet I concealed the crime of the conspirators, even when some were put to death and others driven into exile through the information laid by Teucus. Only after we were imprisoned and on the point of being put to death through the instrumentality of Diocleides, did I denounce the four conspirators — Panætius, Diacritus, Lysistratus, and Chæredemus. These men, I admit, were driven into exile on my account. But my act saved my father, my brother-in-law, three cousins, and seven other relatives, all of whom were about to suffer an unjust death. These now behold the light of day on my account, and they frankly admit it. Moreover, the man who threw the whole city into confusion and involved it in the greatest dangers has been convicted. Finally you have been delivered from great dangers and freed from suspicion, one against another.

Recall now, judges, whether I speak the truth, and do those of you who know, enlighten the rest. And do you, clerk, call the persons themselves who were released through me; for they know and can tell you best. This is so, judges; as they will come up and testify as long as you care to listen. . . .

And now, gentlemen, when you are about to pronounce final judgment, there are certain things that you should call to mind. Remember that you now enjoy among all the Greeks the enviable reputation of being not only brave on the field of battle, but wise in the council chamber, since you attend not so much to the punishment of past misdeeds as to the future security of the State and the concord of its citizens. Other states as well as ours have had their share of evils. But the peaceful settlement of civil discord is the triumph of the best and wisest peoples. Since, then, you have the admiration of all nations, hostile as well as friendly,

take care that you do not deprive your city of its fair fame, or create the impression that your success is due rather to chance than deliberation.

I ask you, further, to have the same opinion of me that you have of my ancestors. Give me the chance to follow their example. They occupy a place in the memory of their countrymen by the side of the greatest benefactors of the state. They served their country nobly and well, chiefly through good will to you, and with the further purpose that, if ever they or their descendants should fall into misfortune, they might find favor and pardon with you. Forget them not; for once their meritorious deeds served our city in a time of need. When our navy was annihilated at Ægospotami, and many were bent on the destruction of Athens, the Spartans decided to save the city through respect for the memory of those men who had fought for the liberty of all Greece. Since, then, our city was saved through the merits of our ancestors, I ask you to save me through the merits of my ancestors; for to the deeds that saved our city my ancestors contributed no small part. Share with me, then, the salvation that you received from the Greeks.

Consider, also, if you save me, what manner of citizen you will have in me. Once rich and affluent, I have been reduced to penury and want through no fault of mine, but through calamities that befell our city. Since then I have earned my livelihood in an honest way, toiling with my hands and brain. Many friends I have, too; among them kings and great men of the world, whose friendship you will share with me.

If, on the other hand, you destroy me, there will be no one left to perpetuate our name and family. And yet the house of Andocides and Leogoras is no disgrace to Athens. But great will be the disgrace if I am in exile, and Cleophon,

the lyre-maker, dwells in the house of my fathers — a house whose walls are decked with trophies taken by my ancestors from the enemies of their country.

Though my ancestors be dead, let their memory still live, and fancy that you see their shades solemnly pleading in my behalf. For whom else have I to plead for me? My father? He is dead. Brothers? I have none. Children? None have yet been born to me.

Do you, then, be to me father, brothers, children. To you I flee for refuge; you I supplicate and beseech. Turn, then, in supplication to yourselves, and grant me life and safety.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

LYSIAS



LYSIAS, one of the ten Attic orators, who did much by his writings to adorn Attic prose, was the son of Cephalus, a wealthy Syracusan, long settled in Athens. The year of his birth is a matter of dispute, varying from 459 to 436 B.C. He is stated to have studied rhetoric under Teisias, at Thurii (Thurium), a Greek city in southern Italy, but returned in 412 to Athens, where he lived the life of a wealthy and prosperous citizen until the defeat, in 405, of the Athenians at Ægospotamos, by Lysander. On the establishment, the next year, of the authority of the Thirty Tyrants, his brother, Ptolemarchus, was executed, and Lysias escaped the same fate only by a flight to Megara. After the expulsion of the Thirty Tyrants by Thrasybulus in 403, Lysias returned to Athens, where he passed the remainder of his life in preparing speeches to be spoken by others in the law courts. His death is supposed to have occurred about 380. Professor Jebb has declared his distinctive qualities to be "a delicate mastery of the purest Attic, a subtle power of expressing character, and a certain flexibility of mind which enables him under the most diverse circumstances to write with almost unflinching tact and charm." Thirty-four orations are ascribed to Lysias, but the authorship of the funeral orations attributed to him has been the subject of much conjecture. His merit as an orator and writer lies chiefly in the simplicity and clearness as well as in the force and vividness of his style, and in the art with which he wins the interest and sympathy of his hearers.

ORATION AGAINST ERATOSTHENES

[In this speech Lysias furnishes many incidents in his own life prior to the fall of Athens, and an account of the government of the Thirty Tyrants who brought about a perfect reign of terror. He describes the day which robbed him of wealth and happiness and left his brother murdered by the conspirators, one of whom was Eratosthenes, against whom the indictment is brought.]

IT does not seem to me difficult to begin the accusation, jurors, but to cease speaking: things such in importance, and so many in number, have been done by them, that neither by deceiving could I make the accusation worse than it really is (that is, existing things), nor, being willing, would I be able to tell the whole truth; but it is necessary either for the accuser to grow weary or for time to fail.

But we seem to be suffering the contrary from (what we suffered) in former times. For formerly it was necessary for the accusers to show the enmity which they had toward the accused; but now it is necessary to ask from the accused what enmity they had toward the State, on account of which they venture to do such wrongs to it. But I do not make these words as not having private enmities and misfortunes, but as if there were plenty of reason for all to be angry on account of their private and public affairs.

In my own case, O jurors, having never pleaded either my own cause or that of others, I am now compelled, by what has taken place, to accuse this man, so that I often felt the greatest despondency lest, on account of my inexperience, I should make the accusation, for my brother and myself, unworthily and unskilfully; still, I will endeavor to establish the truth of these charges as briefly as I can.

My father, Cephalus, was persuaded by Pericles to come to this land, and lived there thirty years; and neither we nor he ever brought an accusation against anybody, or were accused ourselves; but we lived in such a manner, under a democratic form of government, that we neither wronged others nor were wronged by others.

But when the Thirty, being villains and sycophants, were established in power, affirming that it was necessary to rid the city of those doing wrong, and turn the remaining citizens to virtue and justice,—though making such professions, they did not venture to do such things as I, speaking first in my own behalf, and in behalf of you, shall try to remind you.

For Theognis and Piso said, among the Thirty, in regard to the metics, that there were some dissatisfied with the form of government; therefore there was a very good pretext to seem to punish them, but in reality to get their money, for the

city was poor in every respect, and the government needed money.

And without difficulty they persuaded their hearers, for they thought it of no account to kill men, but to take their money they made of the utmost importance. Therefore they decided to arrest ten, and, of these, two poor men, in order that they might have a defence in respect to the others that these things were not done for the sake of money, but in the interest of the State, as if they had ever done anything reasonably.

Accordingly, distributing the houses, they used to go to them, and me they found entertaining guests, whom having driven out, they gave me up to Piso, and the others, going to the workshop, took an inventory of the slaves. And I asked Piso if he was willing to save me, taking a bribe; and he said he would, if there was much of it.

Therefore I said that I was ready to give him a talent of silver, and he agreed to do it. I knew that he regarded neither gods nor men; still, in view of the existing state of affairs, it seemed to me to be absolutely necessary to take a pledge from him.

And when he swore, imprecating destruction upon himself and children, that he would save me, on condition of receiving a talent, I went to my chamber and opened the chest. Piso perceiving this came in, and, seeing what was therein, called two of his servants and commanded them to take what was in the chest.

But when he did not confine himself to the sum agreed upon, jurors, but took three talents of silver, four hundred cyziceni, a hundred darics, and four bowls of silver, I besought him to give me my travelling expenses; whereupon he told me to rejoice if I saved my body.

And Piso and myself coming out (of the house), Melobius and Mnesitheides met, returning from the workshop; they overtook us at the very doors and asked us where we were going; he said to my brother's (house), to see what was in that house; then they told him to go on, but bade me accompany them to Damnipus's (house).

And Piso, approaching me, told me to keep silence and be of good cheer, as he was about to come there: and we found Theognis there, guarding the others: having given me up to whom, they went back; and, being in such circumstances, it seemed best to me to run any risk whatever, as if death were already at hand.

So, having called Damnipus, I spoke to him as follows: You happen to be a friend of mine, and I have come to your house; I have done no wrong, but I am about to be put to death on account of my property; do you, therefore, in consideration of my wretched plight, kindly use your influence in my behalf to secure my safety. And he promised to do it. But it seemed better to him to mention it to Theognis, for he thought that he would do anything if one should give him money.

And while he was conversing with Theognis (as I happened to be acquainted with the house and knew that there were two doors) it seemed best to me to try to save myself, thinking that if I should escape detection I should be safe, but if I should be taken I thought that, if Theognis should be persuaded by Damnipus to receive a bribe, I should get off none the less, but otherwise I should die all the same.

Having thought of these things, I fled while they were stationing a guard at the hall door, and there being three doors through which I must pass, all happened to be open; then, coming to the (house) of Archeneus, the shipmaster, I

sent him to the town to learn about my brother; and he came and said that Eratosthenes had seized him in the road and led him off to prison, and I, having learned these things, on the following night sailed to Megara.

And the Thirty gave the command to Polemarchus, made customary by them, to drink hemlock, before telling the accusation on account of which he was about to die, so much did he want of being tried and making his defence.

And when he was carried out of the prison house dead, although we had three houses, they permitted him to be carried out from neither of them; but, having hired a bier, they laid him out, and, although there was much clothing, they gave none to us, asking it for his burial, but of his friends, one gave a garment, another a pillow, and what each one happened to have, that he gave for his burial.

And although we had seven hundred shields belonging to us, together with gold, silver, brass, ornaments, furniture and female clothing to an amount far beyond their expectations, besides a hundred and twenty slaves, of whom they took the best and threw the rest into prison, they reached such a pitch of insatiable desire and avarice that they made an exhibition of their character; for, from the ears of the wife of Polemarchus, Melobius took the golden earrings which she happened to be wearing, as soon as he came into the house.

And not in the least part of our property did we receive compassion from them; but they so wronged us, on account of our property, as others would in anger for great wrongs, though we did not deserve these things from the city, but paid the expenses of all the choruses, and many taxes, and showed ourselves orderly, and did everything ordered, and had no private enemy, but freed many of the Athenians from their enemies. Of such things they thought the metics worthy, unlike those who are citizens.

For they drove out many of the citizens to their enemies, and, killing many unjustly, left them unburied; and many enjoying the full rights of citizenship, in this city, they deprived of them; and they prevented the daughters of many about to be married (from being married).

And now they have become so audacious that they come here to defend themselves, declaring that they have done nothing wrong or disgraceful; and I wish that they spoke the truth, for not the least share in this good would come to me.

But now these things are advantageous neither to the city nor to me, for, as I said before, Eratosthenes killed my brother, not having been wronged by him privately, or seeing him injuring the city, but zealously assisting his own transgression of the law.

And, having come up here, I wish to question him, O jurors, for this is my opinion: with a view to this man's advantage, I think it impious to converse even with another about him; but to his injury I consider it to be holy and honorable to speak even to himself; therefore rise up, and answer me what I ask you.

Did you lead away Polemarchus, or not?

Fearing, I did what was commanded by the Thirty.

Were you in the council chamber when speeches were made about us?

I was.

Did you agree with those advising to kill, or did you oppose?

I opposed.

That we might not be killed?

That you might not be killed.

Thinking that we would suffer unjustly or justly?

Unjustly.

Then, O basest of all men! did you oppose, in order to

save us, but to arrest us, in order to kill us? And, when the majority of you were masters of our safety, do you say you opposed those wishing to destroy us, but, when it was in your power alone both to save Polemarchus and not, did you lead him away to prison? Then because, as you say, by opposing you did no good, do you claim to be considered an honest man; but, because you arrested and tried to kill us, do you not think that you should suffer punishment for this?

And, moreover, it is not reasonable to believe him in this (if he speaks the truth in saying that he opposed) that it was commanded him. For surely, in the case of the metics, they did not take a pledge from him. To whom then was it less likely to be commanded than (to one) who happened to oppose them, and declared his opinion? for who was less likely to be a servant in these things than the man who opposed what they wished to be done?

And still it seems to me that there is a sufficient excuse for the other Athenians, to lay the blame of what has happened upon the Thirty. But how is it reasonable for you to accept the statements of the Thirty themselves, if they throw the blame on each other?

For, if there had been in the city any greater power than that by which he was ordered to kill men unjustly, you might justly pardon him; but now from whom will you ever exact punishment if it shall be possible for the Thirty to say that they did what was commanded by the Thirty?

(And while it was possible) to save him and abide by the commands of the Thirty, he arrested him, not in his house but in the street, and led him off. And you were all angry with as many as came into your houses making a search for you or for anything of yours.

But, if it was necessary to pardon those who have killed

others for their own safety, you would more justly pardon them, for it was dangerous for those sent not to go, and to those overtaking to deny it; but it was possible for Eratosthenes to say, first, that he did not meet him; secondly, that he did not see him; for these things had neither proof nor trial, so that they could not have been investigated, even by those wishing to be enemies.

But you ought, O Eratosthenes! if you had been an honest man, far rather to have become an informer in favor of those about to die unjustly than to arrest those about to die unjustly; but now your acts have been evident as those not of one troubled, but of one pleased with what has taken place.

So that it is necessary for the jury to give their decision from acts rather than from words, taking, as proofs of the things then said, what they know to have happened, since it is not possible to furnish witnesses about these things; for it was not only impossible for us to be present, but also in each individual case, so that it is in the power of those who have done all evils to the State to say that they have done it every service.

I do not, however, shrink from the issue, but rather confess to you that I am utterly opposed (to their statements). Indeed, I wonder what in Heaven's name you would have done if in harmony with the Thirty, since, when opposing them, you killed Polemarchus. Come now, what would you do if you happened to be brother or son of his? would you acquit him? for Eratosthenes, jurors, must show one of two things, either that he did not lead him away, or that he did this justly; but he has confessed that he arrested him unjustly, so that he has made your decision about him easy.

And now many, both of the citizens and of the strangers, have come to learn of your opinion about these things, some

of whom, being your own citizens, will go away having learned either that they will suffer punishment for the crimes they shall commit, or, having done what they desire, will become tyrants of the city, but, failing, will be on equal terms with you; but the foreigners in the city will know whether they banished the Thirty from their city justly or unjustly, for, if the very men who have suffered ill shall acquit after having arrested, truly they will think that they themselves have been over-zealous in taking vengeance in your behalf.

Is it not, then, a hard thing if you punish by death the generals who conquered in the naval battle because they said they were not able to rescue their companions from the sea on account of the storm, thinking it was necessary to exact punishment from them on account of the valor of the dead; but these who, as private citizens, did all in their power to be defeated in the naval battle, and, when they were established in power, confessed that they willingly put to death many of the citizens without a trial,—is it not necessary that both they themselves and their children should be punished by you with the most extreme punishments?

I then, jurors, think that sufficient accusation has been made, for I think it is necessary to carry the accusation up to this point until things worthy of death shall appear to have been done by the accused; for this is the most extreme punishment we can inflict upon them, so that I do not know what need there is to make many accusations against men who would not be able to give satisfaction for each of their offences by dying twice.



ISOCRATES

ISOCRATES



ISOCRATES, an Athenian rhetorician and one of the ten Attic orators, was born in 436 B. C., and is reputed to have starved himself to death, at the age of ninety-eight, after the battle of Chæronea, since he could not bear to be a witness of the humiliation of Greece by Philip of Macedon and the loss of his country's freedom. His father, a citizen of Athens, possessed of considerable means, gave him the best education the era could offer, though his son was disqualified from entering public life by a weakness of voice. Isocrates, in consequence of this defect, turned his attention to oratory, a school of which he conducted for many years, and to the preparation of speeches to be spoken by public men at political assemblies and by suitors in the public courts. The speech here reproduced is an example of his literary style and manner, and is interesting, not only in itself, but from the fact that Milton imitated it in his noble prose plea, "Areopagitica," wherein he advocates the liberty of unlicensed printing.

ENCOMIUM ON EVAGORAS

WHEN I saw, O Nicocles, that you were honoring the tomb of your father, not only with numerous and magnificent offerings, according to custom, but also with dances, musical exhibitions, and athletic contests, as well as with horse-races and trireme-races, on a scale that left no possibility of their being surpassed, I thought that Evagoras, if the dead have any feeling of what happens on earth, while accepting this offering favorably, and beholding with joy your filial regard for him and your magnificence, would feel far greater gratitude to any one who could show himself capable of worthily describing his mode of life and the dangers he had undergone than to any one else; for we shall find that ambitious and high-souled men not only prefer praise to such honors, but choose a glorious death in pref-

erence to life, and are more jealous of their reputation than of their existence, shrinking from nothing in order to leave behind a remembrance of themselves that shall never die.

Now, expensive displays produce none of these results, but are merely an indication of wealth; those who are engaged in liberal pursuits and other branches of rivalry, by displaying, some their strength, and others their skill, increase their reputation; but a discourse that could worthily describe the acts of Evagoras would cause his noble qualities to be ever remembered amongst all mankind.

Other writers ought accordingly to have praised those who showed themselves distinguished in their own days, in order that both those who are able to embellish the deeds of others by their eloquence, speaking in the presence of those who were acquainted with the facts, might have adhered to the truth concerning them, and that the younger generation might be more eagerly disposed to virtue, feeling convinced that they will be more highly praised than those to whom they show themselves superior.

At the present time, who could help being disheartened at seeing those who lived in the times of the Trojan wars, and even earlier, celebrated in songs and tragedies, when he knows beforehand that he himself, even if he surpass their noble deeds, will never be deemed worthy of such eulogies? The cause of this is jealousy, the only good of which is that it is the greatest curse to those who are actuated by it. For some men are naturally so peevish that they would rather hear men praised, as to whom they do not feel sure that they ever existed, than those at whose hands they themselves have received benefits.

Men of sense ought not to be the slaves of the folly of such men, but, while despising them, they ought at the same time

to accustom others to listen to matters which ought to be spoken of, especially since we know that the arts and everything else are advanced, not by those who abide by established customs, but by those who correct and, from time to time, venture to alter anything that is unsatisfactory.

I know that the task I am proposing to myself is a difficult one—to eulogize the good qualities of a man in prose. A most convincing proof of this is that, while those who are engaged in the study of philosophy are ever ready to speak about many other subjects of various kinds, none of them has ever yet attempted to compose a treatise on a subject like this. . . .

When a boy, he was distinguished for beauty, strength, and modesty, the most becoming qualities at such an age. In proof of which witnesses could be produced: of his modesty, those of the citizens who were brought up with him; of his beauty, all who saw him; of his strength, the contests in which he surpassed his compeers.

When he grew to man's estate, all these qualities were proportionately enhanced, and in addition to them he acquired courage, wisdom, and uprightness, and these in no small measure, as is the case with some others, but each of them in the highest degree.

For he was so distinguished for his bodily and mental excellences, that, whenever any of the reigning princes of the time saw him, they were amazed and became alarmed for their rule, thinking it impossible that a man of such talents would continue to live in the position of a private individual, and whenever they considered his character they felt such confidence in him that they were convinced that he would assist them even if any one ventured to attack them.

In spite of such changes of opinion concerning him, they

were in neither case mistaken; for he neither remained a private individual, nor, on the other hand, did them injury, but the Deity watched over him so carefully in order that he might gain the kingdom honorably, that everything which could not be done without involving impiety was carried out by another's hands, while all the means by which it was possible to acquire the kingdom without impiety or injustice he reserved for Evagoras. For one of the nobles plotted against and slew the tyrant, and afterwards attempted to seize Evagoras, feeling convinced that he would not be able to secure his authority unless he got him also out of the way.

Evagoras, however, escaped this peril and, having got safe to Soli in Cilicia, did not show the same feelings as those who are overtaken by like misfortunes. Others, even those who have been driven from sovereign power, have their spirits broken by the weight of their misfortunes; but Evagoras rose to such greatness of soul, that, although he had all along lived as a private individual, at the moment when he was compelled to flee, he felt that he was destined to rule.

Despising vagabond exiles, unwilling to attempt to secure his return by means of strangers, and to be under the necessity of courting those inferior to himself, he seized this opportunity, as befits all who desire to act in a spirit of piety and to act in self-defence rather than to be the first to inflict an injury, and made up his mind either to succeed in acquiring the kingdom or to die in the attempt if he failed. Accordingly, having got together fifty men (on the highest estimate), he made preparations to return to his country in company with them.

From this it would be easy to recognize his natural force of character and the reputation he enjoyed amongst others; for, when he was on the point of setting sail with so small a

force on so vast an undertaking, and when all kinds of perils stared him in the face, he did not lose heart himself, nor did any of those whom he had invited to assist him think fit to shrink from dangers, but, as if they were following a god, all stood by their promises, while he showed himself as confident as if he had a stronger force at his command than his adversaries, or knew the result beforehand.

This is evident from what he did; for, after he had landed on the island, he did not think it necessary to occupy any strong position, and, after providing for the safety of his person, to wait and see whether any of the citizens would come to his assistance; but, without delay, just as he was, on that eventful night he broke open a gate in the wall, and, leading his companions through the gap, attacked the royal residence.

There is no need to waste time in telling of the confusion that ensues at such moments, the terror of the assaulted, and his exhortations to his comrades; but, when the supporters of the tyrant resisted him, while the rest of the citizens looked on and kept quiet, fearing, on the one hand, the authority of their ruler, and, on the other, the valor of Evagoras; he did not abandon the conflict, engaging either in single combat against numbers, or with few supporters against the whole of the enemy's forces, until he had captured the palace, punished his enemies, succored his friends, and finally recovered for his family its ancestral honors, and made himself ruler of the city.

I think that, even if I were to mention nothing else, but were to break off my discourse at this point, it would be easy to appreciate the valor of Evagoras and the greatness of his achievements; however, I hope that I shall be able to present both even more clearly in what I am going to say.

For while, in all ages, so many have acquired sovereign power, no one will be shown to have gained this high position more honorably than Evagoras. If we were to compare the deeds of Evagoras with those of each of his predecessors individually, such details would perhaps be unsuitable to the occasion, while time would be insufficient for their recital; but if, selecting the most famous of these men, we examine them in the light of his actions, we shall be able to investigate the matter equally well, and at the same time to discuss it more briefly.

Who would not prefer the perils of Evagoras to the lot of those who inherited kingdoms from their fathers? For no one is so indifferent to fame that he would choose to receive such power from his ancestors rather than to acquire it, as he did, and to bequeath it to his children. Further, amongst the returns of princes to their thrones that took place in old times, those are most famous which we hear of from the poets; for they not only inform us of the most renowned of all that have taken place, but add new ones out of their own imaginations. None of them, however, has invented the story of a prince who, after having undergone such fearful and terrible dangers, has returned to his own country; but most of them are represented as having regained possession of their kingdoms by chance, others as having overcome their enemies by perfidy and intrigue.

Amongst those who lived afterwards (and perhaps more than all) Cyrus, who deprived the Medes of their rule and acquired it for the Persians, is the object of most general admiration. But, whereas Cyrus conquered the army of the Medes with that of the Persians, an achievement which many (whether Hellenes or barbarians) could easily accomplish, Evagoras undoubtedly carried out the greater part of what has been mentioned by his own unaided energy and valor.

In the next place, it is not yet certain, from the expedition of Cyrus, that he would have faced the perils of Evagoras, while it is obvious, from the achievements of the latter, that he would readily have attempted the same undertakings as Cyrus. Further, while Evagoras acted in everything in accordance with rectitude and justice, several of the acts of Cyrus were not in accordance with religion; for the former merely destroyed his enemies, the latter slew his mother's father. Wherefore, if any were content to judge, not the greatness of events, but the good qualities of each, they would rightly praise Evagoras more than Cyrus.

But — if I am to speak briefly and without reserve, without fear of jealousy, and with the utmost frankness — no one, whether mortal, demigod, or immortal, will be found to have acquired his kingdom more honorably, more gloriously, or more piously than he did. One would feel still more confident of this if, disbelieving what I have said, he were to attempt to investigate how each obtained supreme power. For it will be manifest that I am not in any way desirous of exaggerating, but that I have spoken with such assurance concerning him because the facts which I state are true.

Even if he had gained distinction only for unimportant enterprises, it were fitting that he should be considered worthy of praise in proportion; but, as it is, all would allow that supreme power is the greatest, the most august, and most coveted of all blessings, human and divine. Who then, whether poet, orator, or inventor of words, could extol in a manner worthy of his achievements one who has gained the most glorious prize that exists by most glorious deeds?

However, while superior in these respects, he will not be found to have been inferior in others, but, in the first place, although naturally gifted with most admirable judgment, and

able to carry out his undertakings most successfully, he did not think it right to act carelessly or on the spur of the moment in the conduct of affairs, but occupied most of his time in acquiring information, in reflection, and deliberation, thinking that, if he thoroughly developed his intellect, his rule would be in like manner glorious, and looking with surprise upon those who, while exercising care in everything else for the sake of the mind, take no thought for the intelligence itself.

In the next place, his opinion of events was consistent; for, since he saw that those who look best after realities suffer the least annoyance, and that true recreation consists, not in idleness, but in success that is due to continuous toil, he left nothing unexamined, but had such thorough acquaintance with the condition of affairs, and the character of each of the citizens, that neither did those who plotted against him take him unawares, nor were the respectable citizens unknown to him, but all were treated as they deserved; for he neither punished nor rewarded them in accordance with what he heard from others, but formed his judgment of them from his own personal knowledge.

But, while he busied himself in the care of such matters, he never made a single mistake in regard to any of the events of everyday life, but carried on the administration of the city in such a spirit of piety and humanity that those who visited the island envied the power of Evagoras less than those who were subject to his rule; for he consistently avoided treating any one with injustice, but honored the virtuous, and, while ruling all vigorously, punished the wrong-doers in strict accordance with justice; having no need of counsellors, but, nevertheless, consulting his friends; often making concessions to his intimates, but in everything showing himself

superior to his enemies; preserving his dignity, not by knitted brows, but by his manner of life; not behaving irregularly or capriciously in anything, but preserving consistency in word as well as in deed; priding himself, not on the successes that were due to chance, but on those due to his own efforts; bringing his friends under his influence by kindness, and subduing the rest by his greatness of soul; terrible, not by the number of his punishments, but by the superiority of his intellect over that of the rest; controlling his pleasures, but not led by them; gaining much leisure by little labor, but never neglecting important business for the sake of short-lived ease; and, in general, omitting none of the fitting attributes of kings, he selected the best from each form of political activity; a popular champion by reason of his care for the interests of the people, an able administrator in his management of the state generally, a thorough general in his resourcefulness in the face of danger, and a thorough monarch from his pre-eminence in all these qualities. That such were his attributes, and even more than these, it is easy to learn from his acts themselves.

XENOPHON



XENOPHON, a disciple of Socrates, and famous as a Greek general and historian, was born at Athens about the year 430 B. C., and is supposed to have died in 355 B. C. In 401 B. C., he joined the expedition of Cyrus the Younger against his brother Artaxerxes; and when Cyrus recklessly threw away his life at the battle of Cunaxa (401) and the Greek generals were assassinated, Xenophon, as he relates in his "Anabasis," conducted the retreat of the Ten Thousand in their famous march from Persia to the Black Sea, thence to the Hellespont. This great military achievement, though modestly recounted by Xenophon, and calling into requisition the utmost resources of an experienced commander, is deservedly held to be a triumph of good generalship. Xenophon later on entered the Lacedæmonian service, with many of the survivors of the expedition into Persia, and there fought with the Spartan enemies of his country against the Thebans, allies of Athens, and was present at the battle of Coronea in 394. For this unpatriotic act he was deemed guilty of high treason and banished from Athens, though the Lacedæmonians made good to him his loss of property by granting him an estate at Scillus, in Elis, where he lived until the battle of Leuctra, in 371, when he was driven to take refuge in Cornith until a turn of affairs in Athens permitted his recall from exile, though authorities give Corinth as the place of his death. Besides the "Anabasis," already referred to, one of the great pieces of military literature in antiquity, Xenophon wrote the historical romance, "The Cyropædia," which treats of the education of Cyrus; "Hellenica," a history of Greece in continuation of that of Thucydides, down to the year 362; "Memorabilia of Socrates," a defence of his master's memory; with other miscellaneous works.

SPEECH IN COUNCIL OF WAR

[The new commanders elected by the Greek troops after the death of Cyrus and the assassination of their former generals immediately held a council of war to determine their future movements; at this meeting Xenophon made the following address:]

OF THE perjury and perfidy of the barbarians Cleanor has just spoken, and you, I am sure, are well aware of it. If, then, we think of coming again to terms of friendship with them, we must of necessity feel much distrust on that head when we see what our generals have

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suffered who, in reliance on their faith, put themselves into their hands; but if we propose to inflict on them vengeance with our swords for what they have done, and for the future to be at war with them at all points, we have, with the help of the gods, many fair hopes of safety.

[As he was uttering these words someone sneezed, and the soldiers, hearing it, with one impulse paid their adoration to the god; and Xenophon continued:]

Since, soldiers, while we were speaking of safety, an omen from Jupiter the Preserver has appeared, it seems to me that we should vow to that god to offer sacrifices for our preservation on the spot where we first reach a friendly country; and that we should vow, at the same time, to sacrifice to the other gods according to our ability. And to whomsoever this seems reasonable, let him hold up his hand.

[All held up their hands; and they then made their vows and sang the pæan. When the ceremonies to the gods were duly performed, he recommenced thus:]

I was saying that we had fair hopes of safety. In the first place, we have observed our oaths made to the gods; but the enemy have perjured themselves and broken the truce and their oaths. Such being the case, it is natural that the gods should be unfavorable to our enemies, and should fight on our side,—the gods, who are able, whenever they will, to make the mighty soon weak, and to save the weak with ease, although they be in grievous perils.

In the next place I will remind you of the dangers in which our ancestors were, that you may feel conscious how much it becomes you to be brave, and how the brave are preserved, even from the greatest troubles, by the aid of the gods. For when the Persians, and those united with them, came with a numerous host, as if to sweep Athens from the

face of the earth, the Athenians, by daring to oppose them, gave them a defeat; and having made a vow to Diana that whatever number they should kill of the enemy they would sacrifice to her divinity the same number of goats, and not being able to find enough, they resolved to sacrifice five hundred every year; and to this day they still continue to sacrifice them.

Again, when Xerxes, having collected that innumerable army of his, came down upon Greece a second time, our ancestors on that occasion, too, defeated the ancestors of these barbarians, both by land and sea; of which exploits the trophies are still to be seen as memorials. The greatest of all memorials, however, is the liberty of the states in which you were born and bred, for you worship no man as master, but the gods alone. Of such ancestors are you sprung.

Nor am I going to say that you dishonor them. It is not yet many days since you arrayed yourselves in the field against the descendants of those barbarians, and defeated, with the help of the gods, a force many times more numerous than yourselves. On that occasion you showed yourselves brave men to procure a throne for Cyrus; and now, when the struggle is for your own lives, it becomes you to be more valiant and resolute.

At present, too, you may justly feel greater confidence against your adversaries; for even then, when you had made no trial of them, and saw them in countless numbers before you, you yet dared, with the spirit of your fathers, to advance upon them, and now, when you have learned from experience of them that, though many times your number, they shrink from receiving your charge, what reason have you any longer to fear them?

And do not consider it any disadvantage that the troops of

Cyrus, who were formerly arrayed on our side, have now left us; for they are far more cowardly than those who were defeated by you; at least they deserted us to flee to them, and those who are so ready to commence flight it is better to see posted on the side of the enemy than in our own ranks.

If, again, any of you are disheartened because we have no cavalry and the enemy have a great number, consider that ten thousand cavalry are nothing more than ten thousand men; for no one ever perished in battle of being bitten or kicked by a horse; it is the men that do whatever is done in the encounter.

Doubtless we, too, rest upon a surer support than cavalry have, for they are raised upon horses, and are afraid, not only of us, but also of falling, while we, taking our steps upon the ground, shall strike such as approach us with far greater force, and hit much more surely the mark at which we may aim. In one point alone, indeed, have the cavalry the advantage, that it is safer for them to flee than for us.

But if, though you have courage for battle, you are disquieted at the thought that Tissaphernes will no longer guide you, and that the king will no longer supply you with provisions, consider whether it is better to have Tissaphernes for our guide, who is manifestly plotting our destruction, or such persons as we ourselves may seize and compel to be our guides, who will be conscious that if they go wrong with regard to us they go wrong with regard to their own lives and persons; and as to provisions, whether is it better for us to purchase, in the markets which they provide, small measures of food for large sums of money (no longer, indeed, having the money), or, if we are successful in the field, to take supplies for ourselves, adopting whatever measure each of us may wish to use?

Again, if you think that this state of things will be better,

but imagine that the rivers will be impassable, and that you were greatly misled when you came across them, reflect whether the barbarians have not acted most unwisely also in this respect. For all rivers, though they may be impassable at a distance from their sources, are easy to be forded by those who go to their springs, wetting them not even to the knees.

But even if the rivers shall not afford us a passage, and no guide shall appear to conduct us, we still need not be in despair; for we know that the Mysians, whom we should not call more valiant than ourselves, have settled themselves, against the king's will, in many rich and large cities in the king's territory; we know that the Pisidians have acted similarly; and we have ourselves seen that the Lycaonians, having seized on the strongholds in the plains, enjoy the produce of the land of these barbarians; and I should recommend that we, for the present, should not let it be seen that we are eager to start homewards, but should apparently make arrangements as if we thought of settling somewhere in these parts; for I am sure that the king would grant the Mysians many guides, and give them many hostages to send them out of the country safely, and even make roads for them, though they should desire to depart in four-horse chariots; and for ourselves, too, I am convinced that he would with thrice as much pleasure do the same if he saw us making dispositions to remain here.

But I am afraid that if we should once learn to live in idleness, to revel in abundance, and to associate with the fair and stately wives and daughters of the Medes and Persians, we should, like the lotus-eaters, think no more of the road homewards.

It seems to me, therefore, both reasonable and just, that we should first of all make an attempt to return to Greece and

to the members of our families, and let our countrymen see that they live in voluntary poverty, since they might see those who are now living at home without due means of subsistence enriched on betaking themselves hither. But I need say no more on this head, for it is plain, my fellow soldiers, that all these advantages fall to the conquerors.

I must also suggest to you, however, in what manner we may proceed on our way with the greatest safety, and how we may fight, if it should be necessary to fight, to the greatest possible advantage. First of all, then, he continued, it seems to me that we ought to burn whatever carriages we have, that our cattle may not influence our movements, but that we may march whithersoever it may be convenient for the army; and then that we should burn our tents with them, for tents are troublesome to carry and of no service either for fighting or in getting provisions.

I think also that we ought to rid ourselves of whatever is superfluous in the rest of our baggage, reserving only what we have for war, or for meat and drink, that as many of us as possible may be under arms, and as few as possible baggage-bearers; for you are aware that whatever belongs to the conquered becomes the property of others: and if we are victorious we ought to look upon the enemy as our baggage-carriers.

It only remains for me to mention a particular which I consider to be of the greatest importance. You see that the enemy did not venture openly to commence war against us until they had seized our generals, thinking that as long as we had commanders and were obedient to them we should be in a condition to gain the advantage over them in the field, but on making prisoners of our generals they expected that we should perish from want of direction and order. It is incumbent, therefore, on our present commanders to be far

more vigilant than our former ones, and on those under command to be far more orderly, and more obedient to their officers, at present than they were before. And if you were also to pass a resolution that, should any one be disobedient, whoever of you chances to light upon him is to join with his officer in punishing him, the enemy would by that means be most effectually disappointed in their expectations, for on the very day that such resolution is passed they will see before them ten thousand Clearchuses instead of one, who will not allow a single soldier to play the coward.

But it is now time for me to conclude my speech; for in an instant perhaps the enemy will be upon us. Whosoever, therefore, thinks these suggestions reasonable, let him give his sanction to them at once, that they may be carried into execution. But if any other course, in any one's opinion, be better than this, let him, even though he be a private soldier, boldly give us his sentiments; for the safety which we all seek is a general concern."

[Cheirisophus then said, "Should there be need of any other measure in addition to what Xenophon proposes, it will be in our power to bring it forward by and by; what he has now suggested we ought, I think, to vote at once to be the best course that we can adopt; and to whomsoever this seems proper let him hold up his hand;" and they all held them up. Xenophon then, rising again, said:]

Hear, soldiers, what appears to me to be necessary in addition to what I have laid before you. It is plain that we must march to some place from which we may get provisions; and I hear that there are some good-looking villages not more than twenty stadia distant; but I should not wonder if the enemy (like cowardly dogs that run after such as pass by them, and bite them if they can, but flee from those who pursue them),

I should not wonder, I say, if the enemy were to follow close upon us when we begin to march.

It will, perhaps, be the safer way for us to march, therefore, forming a hollow square of the heavy armed troops, in order that the baggage and the large number of camp-followers may be in greater security within it; and if it be now settled who is to lead the square, and regulate the movements in front, who are to be on each flank, and who to have charge of the rear, we shall not have to consider of these things when the enemy approach, but may at once act according to what has been arranged.

If, then, any one else sees anything better to recommend, let it be settled otherwise; if not, let Cheirisophus lead, since he is also a Lacedæmonian; let two of the oldest generals take the command on each of the flanks; and let Timasion and myself, the youngest of the officers, take charge, at least for the present, of the rear. After a time, when we have tried this arrangement, we will consider, as occasion may require, what may seem best to be done. If any one thinks of any better plan than this, let him speak.

[As nobody made any objection, he said, "Whosoever likes these proposals, let him hold up his hand." The proposals were approved.]

And now it belongs to you to go and carry into execution what has been decided upon; and whosoever of you wishes to see his friends and relations, let him prove himself a man of valor, for by no other means can he succeed in attaining that object; whoever of you desires to preserve his life, let him strive to conquer, for it is the part of conquerors to kill, but of the conquered to die; and if any one of you covet spoil, let him endeavor to secure victory for us, for it is the privilege of victors at once to save their own property and to seize on that of the vanquished."

ISÆUS



ISÆUS, an Attic orator, and the teacher of Demosthenes, was born, it is supposed, at Calchis about 420 B. C., though other authorities represent him as an Athenian. He was a pupil of Isocrates, and his speeches, of which only eleven are extant, deal chiefly with the law of inheritance. He was the first great forensic orator. He resembles Lysias in his diction, but, unlike Lysias, he did not formally divide his speech into introduction, narrative, argument, and epilogue, but suited it to the needs of each individual case and appealed to the intelligence of his hearers instead of attempting to gain their sympathies by graphic presentation. According to all accounts he appears to have taken no part in public affairs. The dates of his orations range from 389 to 352 B. C., the one here given being perhaps the most elaborate. An English translation of Isæus's "Speeches in Causes concerning the Law of Succession to Property at Athens," was issued in 1778 by Sir Wm. Jones, the Orientalist and linguist.

MENEXENUS AND OTHERS AGAINST DICÆOGENES AND LEOCHARES

[Dicæogenes, whose estate was in dispute, had four sisters, all of whom were married and had issue. When he died without children, his uncle, Proxenus, produced a will by which the deceased appeared to have left a third part of his estate to his cousin, Dicæogenes. This cousin, not content with a share, insisted that he had a right to the whole, and, having set up another will in his own favor, took possession of the remaining two-thirds of the property. This belonged to the sisters of the deceased, who proved the second will to be a forgery; upon this Dicæogenes undertook to restore the two-thirds without diminution, and one Leochares was his surety; but on their refusal to perform their promise, the nephews of the elder Dicæogenes began a suit against them for the performance of their agreement.]

WE HAD imagined, judges, that all agreements made in court concerning this dispute would have been specifically performed; for when Dicæogenes disclaimed the remaining two-thirds of this estate and was bound, together with his surety, to restore them without any controversy, on the faith of this assurance we gave a release of our demands: but now, since he refuses to perform his engage-

ment, we bring our complaint, conformably to the oath which we have taken, against both him and his surety. Leochares.

[*The Oath.*]

That we swore truly, both Cephisodotus, who stands near me, perfectly knows, and the evidence, which we shall adduce, will clearly demonstrate. Read the depositions.

[*Evidence.*]

You have heard the testimony of these witnesses, and I am persuaded that even Leochares himself will not venture to assert that they are perjured; but he will have recourse perhaps to this defence, that Dicæogenes has fully performed his agreement, and that his own office of surety is completely satisfied. If he allege this, he will speak untruly and will easily be confuted; for the clerk shall read to you a schedule of all the effects which Dicæogenes, the son of Menexenus, left behind him, together with an inventory of those which the defendant unjustly took; and if he affirms that our uncle neither had them in his lifetime nor left them to us at his death, let him prove his assertion; or if he insists that the goods were indeed ours, but that we had them restored to us, let him call a single witness to that fact; as we have produced evidence on our part that Dicæogenes promised to give us back the two thirds of what the son of Menexenus possessed, and that Leochares undertook to see him perform his promise. This is the ground of our action, and this we have sworn to be true. Let the oath again be read.

[*The Oath.*]

Now, judges, if the defendants intended only to clear themselves of this charge, what has already been said would be sufficient to ensure my success; but, since they are prepared to enter once more into the merits of the question concerning the inheritance, I am desirous to inform you on our side of all

the transactions in our family; that, being apprised of the truth, and not deluded by their artifices, you may give a sentence agreeable to reason and justice.

Menexenus our grandfather had one son named Dicæogenes, and four daughters, of whom Polyaratus my father married one; another was taken by Democles of Phrearrhi; a third by Cephisophon of Pæania; and the fourth was espoused by Theopompus the father of Cephisodotus. Our uncle Dicæogenes, having sailed to Cnidos in the Parhalian galley, was slain in a sea fight; and, as he left no children, Proxenus the defendant's father brought a will to our parents, in which his son was adopted by the deceased and appointed heir to a third part of his fortune; this part our parents, unable at that time to contest the validity of the will, permitted him to take; and each of the daughters of Menexenus, as we shall prove by the testimony of persons then present, had a decree for her share of the residue.

When they had thus divided the inheritance and had bound themselves by oath to acquiesce in the division, each person possessed his allotment for twelve years; in which time, though the courts were frequently open for the administration of justice, not one of these men thought of alleging any unfairness in the transaction; until, when the state was afflicted with troubles and seditions, this Dicæogenes was persuaded by Melas the Egyptian, to whom he used to submit on other occasions, to demand from us all our uncle's fortune and to assert that he was appointed heir to the whole.

When he began his litigation we thought he was deprived of his senses; never imagining that the same man, who at one time claimed as heir to a third part, and at another time as heir to the whole, could gain any credit before this tribunal; but when we came into court, although we urged more argu-

ments than our adversary and spoke with justice on our side, yet we lost our cause; not through any fault of the jury, but through the villainy of Melas and his associates, who, taking advantage of the public disorders, assumed a power of seizing possessions to which they had no right, by swearing falsely for each other. By such men, therefore, were the jury deceived; and we, overcome by this abominable iniquity, were stripped of our effects; for my father died not long after the trial and before he could prosecute, as he intended, the perjured witnesses of his antagonist.

On the very day when Dicæogenes had thus infamously prevailed against us, he ejected the daughter of Cephisophon, the niece of him who left the estate, from the portion allotted to her; took from the wife of Democles what her brother had given her as coheiress; and deprived both the mother of Cephisodotus and the unfortunate youth himself of their whole fortune. Of all these he was at the same time guardian and spoiler, next of kin, and cruellest enemy; nor did the relation which he bore them excite in the least degree his compassion; but the unhappy orphans, deserted and indigent, became destitute even of daily necessities.

Such was the guardianship of Dicæogenes their nearest kinsman! who gave to their avowed foes what their father Theopompus had left them, illegally possesses himself of the property which they had from their maternal uncle and their grandfather; and (what was the most open act of cruelty) having purchased the house of their father and demolished it, he dug up the ground on which it stood, and made that handsome garden for his own house in the city.

Still further; although he receives an annual rent of eighty minas from the estate of our uncle, yet such are his insolence and profligacy that he sent my cousin, Cephisodotus, to Cor-

inth as a servile attendant on his brother Harmodius; and adds to his other injuries this cruel reproach, that he wears ragged clothes and coarse buskins; but is not this unjust, since it was his own violence which reduced the boy to poverty?

On this point enough has been said. I now return to the narration from which I have thus digressed. Menexenus then, the son of Cephisophon, and cousin both to this young man and to me, having a claim to an equal portion of the inheritance, began a prosecution against those who had perjured themselves in the former cause, and convicted Lycon, whom he had first brought to justice, of having falsely sworn that our uncle appointed this Dicæogenes heir to his whole estate; when, therefore, this pretended heir was disappointed in his hopes of deluding you, he persuaded Menexenus, who was acting both for our interest and his own, to make a compromise, which, though I blush to tell it, his baseness compels me to disclose.

What was their agreement?

That Menexenus should receive a competent share of the effects on condition of his betraying us, and of releasing the other false witnesses, whom he had not yet convicted; thus, injured by our enemies, and by our friends, we remained with silent indignation; but you shall hear the whole transaction from the mouth of witnesses.

[*Evidence.*]

Nor did Menexenus lose the reward of his perfidy; for, when he had dismissed the persons accused, and given up our cause, we could not recover the promised bribe from his seducer whose deceit he so highly resented, that he came over again to our side

We, therefore, justly thinking that Dicæogenes had no right to any part of the inheritance, since his principal wit-

ness had been actually convicted of perjury, claimed the whole estate as next of kin to the deceased; nor will it be difficult to prove the justice of our claim; for, since two wills had been produced, one of an ancient date, and the other more recent; since by the first, which Proxentus brought with him, our uncle made the defendant heir to a third part of his fortune, which will Dicæogenes himself prevailed upon the jury to set aside; and since the second, under which he claims the whole, had been proved invalid by the conviction of the perjured witnesses, who swore to its validity; since, I say, both wills had been shown to be forged, and no other testament existed, it was impossible for any man to claim the property as heir by appointment, but the sisters of the deceased, whose daughters we married, were entitled to it as heirs by birth.

These reasons induced us to sue for the whole as next of kin, and each of us claimed a share; but when we were on the point of taking the usual oaths on both sides, this Leochares put in a protestation that the inheritance was not controvertible; to this protestation we took exceptions, and having begun to prosecute Leochares for perjury, we discontinued the former cause. After we had appeared in court, and urged the same arguments on which we have now insisted, and after Leochares had been very loquacious in making his defence, the judges were of opinion that he was perjured; and as soon as this appeared by the number of pellets, which were taken out of the urns, it is needless to inform you what entreaties he used both to the court and to us, or what an advantage we might then have taken; but attend to the agreement which we have made. Upon our consenting that the Archon should mix the pellets together without counting them, Dicæogenes undertook to surrender two thirds of the inheritance, and to resign them without any dispute to the sisters of the deceased;

and for the full performance of this undertaking, Leochares was his surety, together with Mnefiptolemus the Plotian; all which my witnesses will prove.

[*Evidence.*]

Although we had been thus injured by Leochares, and had it in our power, after he was convicted of perjury, to mark him with infamy, yet we consented that judgment should not be given, and were willing to drop the prosecution upon condition of recovering our inheritance; but after all this mildness and forbearance we were deceived, judges, by these faithless men; for neither has Dicæogenes restored to us the two thirds of his estate, conformably to his agreement in court; nor will Leochares confess that he was bound for the performance of that agreement. Now, if these promises had not been made before five hundred jurymen and a crowd of hearers, one cannot tell how far this denial might have availed him; but, to show how falsely they speak, I will call some witnesses who were present both when Dicæogenes disclaimed two thirds of the succession and undertook to restore them undisputed to the sisters of our uncle, and when Leochares engaged that he should punctually perform what he had undertaken: to confirm his evidence, judges, we entreat you, if any of you were then in court, to recollect what passed, and, if our allegations are true, to give us the benefit of your testimony; for, if Dicæogenes speaks the truth, what advantage did we reap from gaining the cause, or what inconvenience did he sustain by losing it?

If, as he asserts, he only disclaimed the two thirds without agreeing to restore them unencumbered, what has he lost by relinquishing his present claim to an estate the value of which he has received? For he was not in possession of the two third parts, even before we succeeded in our suit, but had

either sold or mortgaged them; it was his duty, however, to return the money to the purchasers and to give us back our share of the land; since it was with a view to this that we, not relying singly upon his own engagement, insisted upon his finding a surety. Yet, except two small houses without the walls of the city, and about sixty acres of land in the plain, we have received no part of our inheritance; nor did we care to eject the purchasers of the rest lest we should involve ourselves in litigation; for when, by the advice of Dicæogenes, and on his promise not to oppose our title, we turned Micio out of a bath which he had purchased, he brought an action against us and recovered forty minas.

This loss, judges, we incurred through the perfidy of Dicæogenes; for we, not imagining that he would recede from an engagement so solemnly made, assured the court that we would suffer any evil if Dicæogenes should warrant the bath to Micio; not that we depended on his own word, but we could not conceive that he would betray the sureties who had undertaken for him; yet this very man, who disavowed all pretensions to these two thirds, and even now admits his disavowal, had the baseness, when he was vouched by Micio, to acknowledge his warranty; whilst I, unhappy man, who had not recovered a particle of my share, was condemned to pay forty minas for having ousted a fair purchaser and left the court oppressed by the insults of this Dicæogenes. To prove the transaction I shall call my witnesses.

[*Evidence.*]

Thus have we been injured, judges, by this man; whilst Leochares, who was bound for him and has been the cause of all our misfortunes, is confident enough to deny what has been proved against him; because his undertaking was not entered in the register of the court: now, judges, as we were

then in great haste, we had time to enter part only of what had been agreed on, and took care to provide faithful witnesses of all the rest; but these men have a convenient subterfuge: what is advantageous to them they allow to be valid although it be not written, but deny the validity of what may be prejudicial to their interests unless it be in writing; nor am I surprised that they refuse to perform their verbal promises since they will not even act conformably to their written agreements.

That we speak truly, an undeniable proof shall be produced: Dicæogenes gave my sister in marriage with a portion of forty minas to Protarchides of Potamos; but, instead of paying her fortune in money he gave her husband a house which belonged to him in Ceramicus; now she had the same right with my mother to a share of this estate; when Dicæogenes, therefore, had resigned to the women two thirds of the inheritance, Leochares told Protarchides in what manner he had become a surety, and promised in writing to give him his wife's allotment if he would surrender to him the house which he had taken instead of the portion; Protarchides, whose evidence you shall now hear, consented; but Leochares took possession of his house and never gave him any part of the allotment.

[*Evidence.*]

As to the repairs of the bath and the expenses of building, Dicæogenes has already said, and will probably say again, that we have not reimbursed him, according to our engagement, for the sum which he expended on that account; for which reason he cannot satisfy his creditors nor give us the shares to which we are entitled. To answer this, I must inform you that, when we compelled him in open court to disclaim this part of the inheritance, we permitted him, by

the advice of the jury, to retain the profits of the estate, which he had enjoyed so long, by way of compensation for his expenses in repairs and for his public charges; and some time after, not by compulsion, but of our own free will, we gave him a house in the city, which we separated from our own estate and added to his third part.

This he had as an additional recompense for the materials which he had bought for his building; and he sold the house to Philonicus for fifty minas; nor did we make him this present as a reward of his probity, but as a proof that our own relations, how dishonest soever, are not undervalued by us for the sake of lucre; and even before, when it was in our power to take ample revenge of him by depriving him of all his possessions, we could not act with the rigor of justice, but were contented with obtaining a decree for part of our own property; whilst he, when he had procured an unjust advantage over us, plundered us with all possible violence, and now strives to ruin us, as if we were not his kinsmen, but his inveterate foes.

We will now produce a striking instance of our candor and of his knavery. When, in the month of December, judges, the prosecution against Leochares was carried on with firmness, both he and Dicæogenes entreated me to postpone the trial and refer all matters in dispute to arbitration; to which proposal, as if we had sustained only a slight injury, we consented; and four arbitrators were chosen, two by us, and as many by them; we then swore, in their presence, that we would abide by their award; and they told us that they would settle our controversy, if possible, without being sworn; but that, if they found it impossible to agree, they would severally declare upon oath what they thought the merits of the case. After they had interrogated us for a long time, and

inquired minutely into the whole transaction, Diotamus and Melanopus, the two arbitrators, whom we had brought, expressed their readiness to make their award, either upon oath or otherwise, according to their opinion of the truth from the testimony of both parties; but the other two, whom Leochares had chosen, refused to join in any award at all; though one of them, Diopithes, was a kinsman of Leochares, and an enemy to me on account of some former disputes, and his companion, Demaratus, was a brother of that Mnesiptolemus whom I mentioned before as one of the sureties for Dicæogenes; these two declined giving any opinion, although they had obliged us to swear that we would submit to their decision.

[*Evidence.*]

It is abominable, then, that Leochares should request you to pronounce a sentence in his favor which his own relation, Diopithes, refused to pronounce; and how can you, judges, with propriety decree for this man, when even his friends have virtually decreed against him? For all these reasons I entreat you, unless you think my request inconsistent with justice, to decide this cause against Leochares.

As for Dicæogenes, he deserves neither your compassion as an indigent and unfortunate man, nor your indulgence as a benefactor in any degree to the state; I shall convince you, judges, that neither of these characters belongs to him; shall prove him to be both a wealthy and a profligate citizen, and shall produce instances of his base conduct towards his friends, his kinsmen, and the public. First, though he took from us an estate from which he annually received eighty minas, and though he enjoyed the profits of it for ten years, yet he is neither in possession of the money nor will declare in what manner he has employed it. It is also worthy of your consideration that, when he presided over the games of his tribe

at the feast of Bacchus he obtained only the fourth prize, and was the last of all in the theatrical exhibitions and the Pyrrhic dances: these were the only offices that he has served, and these, too, by compulsion; and see how liberally he behaved with so large an income! Let me add that in a time of the greatest public calamity, when so many citizens furnished vessels of war, he would not equip a single galley at his own expense, nor even joined with another; whilst others, whose entire fortune was not equal to his yearly rents, bore that expensive office with alacrity; he ought to have remembered that it was not his father who gave him his estate, but you, judges, who established it by your decree; so that, even if he had not been a citizen, gratitude should have prompted him to consult the welfare of the city.

Again, when contributions were continually brought by all who loved their country, to support the war and provide for the safety of the state, nothing came from Dicæogenes; when Lechæum indeed was taken, and when he was pressed by others to contribute, he promised publicly that he would give three minas, a sum less than that which Cleonymus the Cretan voluntarily offered; yet even this promise he never performed; but his name was hung up on the statues of the Eponymi with an inscription asserting, to his eternal dishonor, that he had not paid the contribution, which he promised in public, for his country's service. Who can now wonder, judges, that he deceived me, a private individual, when he so notoriously deluded you all in your common assembly? Of this transaction you shall now hear the proofs.

[*Evidence.*]

Such and so splendid have been the services which Dicæogenes, possessed of so large a fortune, has performed for the city. You perceive, too, in what manner he conducts him-

self towards his relations; some of whom he has deprived, as far as he was able, of their property; others he has basely neglected, and forced, through the want of mere necessities, to enter into the service of some foreign power. All Athens saw his mother sitting in the temple of Illithyia, and heard her accuse him of a crime which I blush to relate, but which he blushed not to commit. As to his friends, he has now incurred the violent hatred of Melas the Egyptian, who had been fond of him from his early youth, by refusing to pay him a sum of money which he had borrowed; his other companions he has either defrauded of sums which they lent him, or has failed to perform his promise of giving them part of his plunder if he succeeded in his cause.

Yet our ancestors, judges, who first acquired this estate, and left it to their descendants, conducted all the public games, contributed liberally towards the expense of the war, and continually had the command of galleys, which they equipped: of these noble acts the presents with which they were able, from what remained of their fortune after their necessary charges, to decorate the temples, are no less undeniable proofs, than they are lasting monuments of their virtue; for they dedicated to Bacchus the tripods which they won by their magnificence in their games; they gave new ornaments to the temple of the Pythian Apollo, and adorned the shrine of the goddess in the citadel, where they offered the first fruits of their estate, with a great number, if we consider that they were only private men, of statues both in brass and stone. They died fighting resolutely in defence of their country; for Dicæogenes, the father of my grandfather, Menexenus, fell at the head of the Olysian legion in Spartolus; and his son, my uncle, lost his life at Cnidos, where he commanded the Parhaliar galley.

His estate, O Dicæogenes, thou hast unjustly seized and shamefully wasted, and, having converted it into money, hast the assurance to complain of poverty. How hast thou spent that money? Not for the use of the state or of your friends; since it is apparent that no part of it has been employed for those purposes; not in breeding fine horses, for thou never wast in possession of a horse worth more than three minas; not in chariots, for, with so many farms and so great a fortune, thou never hadst a single carriage even drawn by mules; nor hast thou redeemed any citizen from captivity; nor hast thou conveyed to the citadel those statues which Menexenus had ordered to be made for the price of three talents, but was prevented by his death from consecrating in the temple; and, through thy avarice, they lie to this day in the shop of the statuary: thus hast thou presumed to claim an estate to which thou hast no color of right, and hast not restored to the gods the statues, which were truly their own. On what ground, Dicæogenes, canst thou ask the jury to give a sentence in thy favor? Is it because thou hast frequently served the public offices; expended large sums of money to make the city more respectable, and greatly benefited the state by contributing bountifully towards supporting the war? Nothing of this sort can be alleged with truth. Is it because thou art a valiant soldier? But thou never once could be persuaded to serve in so violent and so formidable a war, in which even the Olynthians and the islanders lose their lives with eagerness, since they fight for this country; while thou, who art a citizen, wouldst never take arms for the city.

Perhaps the dignity of thy ancestors, who slew the tyrant, emboldens thee to triumph over us: as for them, indeed, I honor and applaud them, but cannot think that a spark of their virtue animates thy bosom; for thou hast preferred the

plunder of our inheritance to the glory of being their descendant, and wouldst rather be called the son of Dicæogenes than of Harmodius; not regarding the right of being entertained in the Prytaneum, nor setting any value on the precedence and immunities which the posterity of those heroes enjoy: yet it was not for noble birth that Harmonius and Aristogiton were so transcendently honored, but for their valor and probity; of which thou, Dicæogenes, hast not the smallest share.

[Translated by Sir William Jones.]

LYCURGUS



LYCURGUS, an Attic orator of noble family at Athens, born about the year 396 B. C., and died in 323 B. C. He was a student of the philosopher Plato, and entering public life at an early age he was thrice appointed manager of Athenian finance for periods of five years each. Under his careful management the revenues were greatly enhanced, and he consequently stood so high in the esteem of the citizens that when Alexander the Great demanded his surrender as one of the zealous opponents of Macedonian interests in Greece, the Athenians refused to surrender him. He was a man of enlightened tastes, and adorned Athens with many fine buildings. The laws which he enacted were not only severe, but were rigorously and indiscriminatingly enforced. One enactment, which forbade women to ride in chariots at the public celebration of the Mysteries, was transgressed by his own wife, whom he caused to be fined like any other offender. He was specially noted for his integrity and patriotism, and soon after his death, the arrest of his three sons for some fault roused Demosthenes to remonstrate publicly against such unworthy treatment of the children of so noble and patriotic a father, and they were released. Of the fifteen orations ascribed to Lycurgus, only one, that against Leocrates, has remained to us entire. His style of composition though dignified, is not specially pleasing. He is not to be confounded with Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator, who lived in the 9th century B. C.

ORATION AGAINST LEOCRATES

[After the disaster of Chæronea the Athenian people pass a decree that no man shall absent himself from the city or remove thence his wife or his children. Now one Leocrates does leave the city, going to Rhodes, and from thence to Megara, subsequently returning to Athens. Here he practises no concealment, and is prosecuted by Lycurgus on a charge of treason. The ground is shifted in the trial; for Leocrates, while acknowledging his departure from the city, denies all treasonable intent. Some would make the question one of motive, as the fact of departure is admitted while the intent is left in doubt: was it treason or legitimate business? Others are for accepting the declaration of the defendant that he went with no treasonable intent, but in the course of his business. This argument is similar to the one for the oration against Antilocos.]

YE MEN of Athens: in the course of law I open my action against the defendant, Leocrates, but I undertake it also as a sacred duty to ourselves and to our gods. My prayer goes out to Athena, and to all our gods and heroes, whose features meet our eyes at every turn here in the city

and through all the land; a prayer that if I prove my case against this man, prove him a traitor to their seats and shrines and graves, to the service that our fathers hallowed and is our inheritance, I may by their aid this day prove worthy to strike at the crime of Leocrates, for the weal of the people and the city. My prayer is for you as well: parents and children and wives, fatherland, faith, are all in the issue to-day; and here for your verdict is held the traitor to one and all. Judges inexorable, now and forever, may all such find you as shall be guilty of the like transgression. And my prayer extends to the culprit. For if in this trial I establish it not that the man is a traitor to his country, that he abandoned the city and the faith, then shall he depart out of jeopardy, absolved of the gods, and absolved of you, his judges.

Now gentlemen, whereas it is in the public interest to have men in the town who will undertake the prosecution of transgressors, I could wish that their readiness were regarded by the people at large as a token of public spirit. On the contrary, things have come to such a pass that the man who assumes personal responsibility, who faces malignity on behalf of the public, is not regarded as a man of public spirit: he is called a busybody. Such sentiment is neither just nor conducive to the well-being of the nation. We have three great safeguards and supports of popular government and the prosperity of the city: first, our system of laws; second, your judicial suffrage; and third, the privilege of laying criminal cases before you. The law serveth to define forbidden acts; the prosecutor to denounce those who have rendered themselves liable to its provisions; while judges are for dealing the penalty when law has prescribed and the prosecutor has made his case. Thus neither law nor the suffrage can avail if there be no man to bring the action.

Now, men of Athens, I know that Leocrates had run from the dangers that beset the country; that he had abandoned his own townspeople; had forsworn your jurisdiction; was obnoxious to all the commandments; and in this knowledge did I bring my action; not from any hatred of the man; not from a love of strife; but feeling it a shame to see him around, thrusting himself upon our meetings, admitted to our sacred privileges, a living disgrace to the country and to his fellow men. It is the duty of a good citizen not to carry into public discussion the animosities of private life, but, conversely, to make the public wrongs his own, shunning in private all his country's foes.

Any state trial is rightly of consequence in your eyes: none can be more so than the one in which you are to render your verdict this day. When you pass upon the cases of transgression, one thought of caution ever fills your minds: What injury to the city may this vote involve? And the case to come before you affects the city, not in some slight degree, and not for some little time. The issue is national; and down all the ages of the future the men to come will bear your course in mind. The delinquency is so terrible, so monstrous: who can portray it as it is? who find a punishment condign? Law hath no vengeance that can match this crime. What are the pangs that are fit for a man that deserted his country? that held himself aloof when the sacred heritage was imperilled? that abandoned the graves of the fathers? that gave the city over for the foot of the foe to tread? Death stands in the eye of the law for the final great expiation; but oh, how far short it comes when we measure the villainy of a Leocrates! Our scale of crimes we find is far outgrown, gentlemen; not that the framers of the laws were lax, but because in the days of yore no such experience had been their lot; no

such contingency was as yet conceivable. Thus, gentlemen, your duty in the judgment of this present crime is the establishment of the precedent. In cases of the crimes that a law has already defined, the administration of justice by the regular procedure is easy; but when the law transcends particulars, can do no more than trace the principle, then with a man whose sins outreach the statutes, obnoxious to the very life of law, then is the time that your judgment must stand as the precedent for all posterity. Mistake it not, gentlemen; for with whatsoever judgment ye shall judge this man, such to the young shall your guidance be in the path of virtue. There are two things that influence young people most: the measure of punishment that is dealt to evil-doers, and the measure of reward that followeth all good men. With both before their eyes, they do flee from the one from the dread of shame and cleave to the other for love of their good name. Take then your cognizance of this action; and of all considerations let justice, and justice only, sway your minds.

My charges shall be made in all good faith: I will not embellish: I will not stray from the facts. Many who appear before you reach the height of irrelevance; making their discourse upon topics of the time, or blazing away at random regardless of the specific question. It is easy enough for an orator to declare his opinions on something you are not going to consider, easy enough to attack what no one is going to defend. It is not proper for him to be urging you to cast a righteous ballot while he is making you an unrighteous plea. On your own heads be it, gentlemen: you have allowed this latitude in the pleas that have been made before you, and that too when you have had that fairest model in all Grecian life, the sanhedrim of the Areopagus, so far above other tribunals that even those who faced it to their doom could not

impeach the honor of the court. Turn thither for your inspiration, and suffer not those who digress from the matter at issue. Then shall the defendant be guaranteed against false witness; the prosecutor never dream of fawning upon you; your verdict follow your oath, and that alone.

One point, gentlemen, should not escape you: it is no trial of an ordinary defendant. With some obscure man, what Greek would call your verdict good or bad? In this man's case your word shall go all over the Greek world from tongue to tongue. He is notorious for his flight to Rhodes and for the tale he told about you there in the city of the Rhodians and among the business men established there. They in their commerce went sailing around the civilized world, telling about Athens the stories they had heard from Leocrates, well aware the while what a contrast there was between the deeds of a Leocrates and the deeds of the fathers of Athens. Urgent indeed is the call for a righteous judgment upon him. Forget it not, Athenians; in so far as ye are not as other men are, in reverence for the gods, in honor to your ancestors, in devotion to country, so much more heedless of it all should ye appear if this man scatheless escaped you.

I ask you, men of Athens, to hear my charge to the end. Lay it not to my charge if I begin with the history of that sad time; but reserve your wrath for those whose acts compel me to call these things to remembrance.

Chæronea had been fought and lost. The assembly forthwith convened. You were all here. The people voted to bring the women and children from the outlying districts within the walls for protection, and authorized the war department to enroll for defence Athenians and outlanders alike, to any extent, at their discretion. To these measures Leocrates paid no heed at all. He packed up what things he had and

put them aboard a shallop, taking his slaves along. A ship was then in the offing ready to sail. At eventide he with his mistress, Daughter of Peace by name, made his exit by the postern down to the middle of the beach, made for the ship, and sailed away in flight. No tender thought of the harbor that saw him go; no sense of honor to the wall where one man's place lay defenceless; no loyal glance at the acropolis, at the shrines of Zeus and Athena who bring us our glad salvation. To them he turned traitor and fled; and yet betimes on them will he call to save him in the hour of peril. Away he sailed and reached the port of Rhodes; and just as if he were bearing the news of some great success, he told around what he had left behind; the old city lost, the Piræus in a state of siege; that he alone had escaped to tell the tale; presenting shamelessly his country's disaster in the light of his own salvation. So implicitly did the Rhodians credit his report that they manned their triremes and put their boats afloat. The merchants and sea-captains who were clearing for Athens put ashore their provisions and cargoes, all because of him.

The truth of my statements shall be demonstrated by complete evidence, first from your own neighbors, people whose homes are here, who are cognizant that in the war Leocrates ran and sailed from Athens; then from people who were in Rhodes at the time he told that story; then from Phyrkinos, who, as many of you know, denounced the man to the people as liable in large sums on his tax rates of twenty dollars per thousand. But before I call my witnesses, let me have one word more with you. You have grown quite familiar, gentlemen, with the resources of men under accusation, the appeals they put forth when they plead. Unerringly you must be able to detect the work of money or of influence

when divers of the witnesses fail to appear, or cannot remember, or prove to be shifty. Encourage the witnesses then to come forward without fear or favor; to take no thought save of yourselves and the state; to render to the fatherland justice and the truth; to shun not their bounden duty the way Leocrates did, but to take their solemn oaths and give their testimony as the law directs. And if they do not so, then in your names, in the name of the law, in the name of the sovereign people, will we hold them to their account. I proceed to the evidence.

[*Testimony is given.*]

Subsequently, gentlemen, in the course of time, vessels from Athens arrived at Rhodes; and then it came out that there had nothing awful befallen the city. In alarm Leocrates departed out of Rhodes and came to Megara. Here he resided for five years and more, under patronage with some Megarian; respecting not the bourns of his country, living as an outlander within sight of the land that had reared him. He recognized thus that he was an exile forever; for he sent for Amyntas, the husband of his elder sister, and Antigenes, of Xypete, a friend of his, and asked his kinsman to buy his slaves and his house; his price was a thousand dollars. Out of this sum he instructed them to pay his creditors what was due them, then give a dinner to his friends, and turn the balance over to him. Amyntas attended to the business, transferring the slaves for thirty minas to Timochares, of Acharnæ, the husband of the younger sister. As Timochares could not pay cash, he gave a note which was put in escrow with Lysicles, paying Amyntas one mina to bind the bargain. That my assertions are no mere talk, but the truth, will appear from the evidence of my witnesses. If Amyntas were still alive, we would produce him here himself: as it is, I shall call people

who knew all about the affair. I offer now in evidence, if you please, an account of the slaves and the house conveyed to Amyntas by Leocrates in Megara.

[Evidence is offered.]

Now let me show that forty minas were received from Amyntas by Phylomelas of Cholargos and Menelaos who was on the embassy to the king.

[Testimony is given.]

Please listen now to the evidence of Timochares, who bought the slaves of Amyntas for five and thirty minas; and herewith I exhibit the contract.

[Testimony is given, and the instrument offered in evidence.]

Gentlemen, you have heard the witnesses. It may well be that what I now declare will rouse your indignation and your scorn of this Leocrates. Not content to abscond alone with his wretched self and his money, he must needs drag with him the ancestral faith, to-day become your law because your ancestors kept it, the establishment of the fathers and the heritage of him their child, drag this to Megara, filch it from the land. He hallowed not that sacred name of old, would tear it from its home, make it forsake with him the temples and the country once its own, as if in the land of the stranger it could rise again, and for him. Athena, with no Athens there! in Megara! their land and their laws to be hers! Why did your fathers give to the land her name? Because *her* land was *here*. In the name of Athena did they put their trust: she abandons not her own. Leocrates, recreant to law and tradition and religion, took from us all, as far as in him lay, the help that is ours from on high. And not content with all these grievous wrongs, he took the capital he had withdrawn here and with it made shipments of grain from Cleopatra in Epirus into Leucas and from there into

Corinth; this in violation of your law which lays so severe a penalty on any man of Athens who shall ship grain to any port but ours. Here then is your man; traitor in war; law-breaker in business; false to the faith and the land and the law. Here he is in your jurisdiction: shall not his doom be death? shall he not serve warning to others? If not, then ye must be some listless men, whose wrath no crime can rouse.

And now in what strains did Homer voice this theme? To your fathers he was such a noble poet that they passed a law that at every pan-Athenian festival, as the five years came round, his epics alone should be delivered; thus bearing witness to the world of Greece that the greatest of works were the works for them. A salutary measure. Brevity is the nature of the law. It may not instruct: it must simply command. To the poets it must refer the life of man, to portray the human spirit in its loftiest achievement, and with the resistless argument of art our souls are swayed. It is Hector who speaks, rousing the Trojans in their country's name.

When ye have reached the ships, fight onward, ceaselessly striving:
What though the stroke of fate shall call some man to his glory?
Where is the sting of death when a hero falls for his country?
Wife and child and home are safe in the hour that the Argives
Take to the ships once more and sail for the land of their fathers.

With strains like these, men of Athens, ringing in the ears of your sires, they could emulate the deeds of old; rising to such heights of valor that not for their own native state alone, but for all Hellas as a common fatherland, they stood ready to offer up their lives. There on Marathon they went into line in the face of the barbarians, bore down all Asia in arms, the stake their lives alone, winning security for Greece at large; not puffed up with the pride of renown, but glad their work

was worthy of its fame; of Greece the champions, masters of the heathen world; letting their deeds proclaim aloud their glory. Such was the strenuous life they led in Athens in the great days of old that once when the Lacedæmonians, valiant of men, were at war with the Messinians, the god vouchsafed them a response that bade them take a leader from our people, and then they should conquer their enemies. If then divine judgment declared in favor of our leadership even for the children of Herculea, lords for all time in Sparta, are we not justified in our faith that once Athenian valor was peerless? Who that is Greek does not know that they took one Tyrtaeus for their general? And with him they overthrew their enemies. And when the immediate peril was past, they (with an admirable wisdom) turned the episode to the advantage of their youth for all time. For when Tyrtaeus left them, his elegiacs were still theirs. While other poets have had no vogue among them, for him their enthusiasm has been so great that they passed a law that whenever a campaign was to open, all the men should be called to the tent of the king to hear the strains of Tyrtaeus. Nothing else, they thought, could make their men so ready to lay down their lives for their country. And now the day is come when we ourselves may need the sound of those elegiacs which could make their way to the souls of Spartans:

Blest is the brave: how glorious is his prize,
When at his country's call he dares and dies.
And sad the sight when, envious of the dead,
The man without a country begs his bread.
His poor old parents feebly toil along,
And little children who have done no wrong.
Spurned by the glance he meets at every turn,
He learns how hot the beggar's brand can burn.

His name is shame: the human form divine
Shows in its fall the soul's dishonored shrine.
Deeds in the dust of ages swiftly root,
And children's children reap the bitter fruit.
Strike for our country, comrades: on, ye brave!
Where is the man that dreads a patriot grave?
And ye, my younger brethren, side by side,
Shoulder to shoulder stand, whate'er betide.
The surging thrill ye feel before your foe
Swept o'er your fathers' heart-strings long ago.
To those whose days are longer in the land
Lend in the pride of youth the helping hand.
For shame to see an old man fall in front
When young men leave him there to bear the brunt:
Low in the dust the hoary hair is trailed;
At last is quenched a soul that never quailed.
Youth in its bloom should pluck the glowing bough
Whose leaves in glory wreath a hero's brow.
Welcome to man, and fair in woman's eye,
The manly form that living dares to die.
Fate hangs apoise, with gloom and triumph fraught:
Up, hearts! and in the balance count we our lives as naught.

Noble sentiments, gentlemen, that sway the soul of him that hath ears to hear. The Spartans could hear them, and received such an impulse unto manhood that they engaged with us in a struggle for the hegemony. It was nature's rivalry; for the noblest achievements had been wrought on either side. Our ancestors had overthrown the barbarian who had set the first hostile foot upon Attic soil: in them was made manifest a manhood that no money could corrupt, a valor no host countervail. In Thermopylæ the Lacedæmonians made their stand; and though the fate they met was not like ours, yet there the ideals of human devotion became reality.

And thus on the bourns of life we can see the memorials of

the valor of our race graven with the chisel of truth unto all Greek blood:

FOR THEIRS:

Go stranger, tell the Spartans where we lie,
True to the land that taught her sons to die.

FOR YOURS:

On Marathon when Athens fought alone,
Down to the dust the golden East was thrown.

These great memories, Athenians, are the glory of the men who bequeathed them and of Athens the undying renown. Not in this wise has Leocrates wrought. The fair fame of the city, flower of the ages, deliberately hath he defiled. If then he meet death at your hands, all Greece will feel the abhorrence in which you hold such acts. If not, then are the fathers of their ancient fame bereft by the same fell stroke that wounds your brothers in citizenship. They who revere not the men of old will follow the footsteps of this man, quick to descry the path that shall lead them to favor with our enemies, quick to perceive that shamelessness, treachery, cowardice, need only a verdict from you to prove their native worth.

One word more and I am done. To your sovereign chastisement I commit the man who stands for Athenian annihilation. On your own honor and in the presence of the gods you are to give Leocrates his due. On the head of the criminal lies the crime; but in a miscarriage of justice the jurors delinquent become participant of guilt. Gentlemen, ye cast the secret ballot now; but be not deceived: not one man among you can deposit a vote that the eye of heaven does not see. In my opinion, gentlemen, your verdict to-day reaches all the

greatest and most fearful crimes at once: we behold them in the person of Leocrates: treason, for he abandoned the city to subjugation by the enemy; apostacy, for he played a coward's part in freedom's cause; sacrilege, for the groves might be felled, the temples razed, as far as he was concerned; abomination, for the memorials of our fathers might be swept away and the hallowed observances abolished; desertion, for the nidering did not report for duty in the line. Where then is the man who will vote to clear him? Who is he that will show his sympathy with crime that shows malice aforethought? Is there a man so bereft of sense that he will set Leocrates free and so place his own security at the mercy of men who would abandon him? that out of pity for Leocrates he will take no pity on himself, when his choice may mean death at the hands of the foe? that by extending clemency to a traitor he will lay himself open to the retribution of heaven?

In support of our country, religion and laws I have pleaded this case, in righteousness and in fairness, indulging in no irrelevant abuse of the man and making no charges extraneous to the case. You must all be convinced that a vote for the acquittal of Leocrates is a vote for the conviction of the country; for in the life of nations subjugation is the death. Here stand the two urns; one for your undoing, one for your redemption: vote there for the disruption of the country, vote here for her security and prosperity. Think, men of Athens: the land and the trees are pleading, the harbors, the walls are entreating, the temples and shrines are in prayer. Save them. Make of Leocrates an example. One final declaration of my confidence: this pity that fills your hearts for the tears you look upon can never avail to pervert your loyalty to the law of the land, your devotion to the people of Athens.

[Specially translated by Charles W. Stone.]

HYPERIDES



HYPERIDES, a celebrated Attic orator, the son of Glaucippus, a wealthy Athenian, was born in 396 B. C., and slain at Corinth in 322 B. C. In philosophy he was a pupil of Plato, though trained in the school of Isocrates. He was a leader in the anti-Macedonian party and was put to death with cruel torture by the emissaries of Antipater, the Macedonian general. By his contemporaries he was ranked second only to his teacher, Demosthenes, in power, and above him in charm of delivery, but until quite recently, this high estimate had to be accepted on trust, as none of the fifty orations ascribed to him were known to exist. In 1847, three speeches by Hyperides were discovered in an Egyptian papyrus, and in 1856 a fragment of a funeral oration was also unearthed. Other speeches and fragments of his have since been found, including a characteristic speech against Athenogenes, recovered in 1891 and translated into English in 1893 by Kenyon. He was noted for the quickness of his wit and for the looseness of his private life, and was frequently the subject of the satires of the comic poets of his day. Though at one time a friend and associate of Demosthenes, he afterwards differed from him seriously, and even took part in his prosecution.

SPEECH AGAINST ATHENOGENES

[Hyperides's client, whose name does not appear, desired to obtain a boy slave, who, with his father and brother, was the property of Athenogenes. The plaintiff proposed to purchase the liberty of the boy in question, when Athenogenes, aided by Antigona, lured the purchaser, by false representations, into buying all three slaves with their liabilities, which he pretended were but trifling. After the bargain was completed the plaintiff found that the slaves had brought him debts enough to compass his ruin; he therefore brought suit against Athenogenes and engaged Hyperides as counsel. The following speech, of which some fragments are missing, presents a satisfactory example of the orator's style. The opening sentences are lost.]

WHEN I told her the whole story and complained how hard Athenogenes was to deal with, and how he refused to make even the most reasonable concessions, she answered that he was always like that, and told me to be of good heart, as she would co-operate with me in everything. This she said in the most earnest manner possible, and confirmed her words with the most solemn oaths that she was entirely devoted to my interests and was telling

me the simple truth. And so, gentlemen,—I will hide nothing from you,—I was persuaded. Great indeed, as experience shows, is the power of love to beguile our reason, when it is reinforced by a woman's wiles! Certain it is that by her plausible cajolements she managed to pocket for herself three hundred drachmas, professedly to buy a slave girl, just as an acknowledgment of her good will towards me. And, when one comes to think of it, gentlemen, perhaps there is nothing so marvellous in my being thus twisted round the finger of Antigona, considering that in her youth she was held to be the most accomplished courtesan of the day, and that since her retirement she has been continually practising as a procuress.¹ . . . If, then, she achieved so much by her own unassisted efforts, what might she not reasonably be expected to accomplish in the present case, with Athenogenes as her partner, a professional attorney by trade, and, what is more, an Egyptian?

Well, to cut the story short, she sent for me again a little later and said that by a great expenditure of words she had with difficulty persuaded Athenogenes to release Midas and his two sons for forty minas; and she urged me to have the money ready as soon as possible, before he should change his mind. Accordingly, by dint of pestering my friends to assist me and scraping money together from all possible quarters, I raised the forty minas, and, having deposited them in the bank, I went to inform Antigona.

Thereupon she arranged a meeting between Athenogenes and myself and brought us to terms, exhorting us to behave as friends for the future. I said I would do so; whereat Athenogenes answered that I had to thank Antigona for the turn affairs had taken, adding, "Now see what a service I

¹ The orator here quoted a signal instance of the profits made or the mischief done by her in this profession, but the passage is mutilated.

will do for you for her sake. You are paying down this money to purchase the liberty of Midas and his sons. Instead of that, I will sell them formally to you as your own property. Then no outsider will be able to trouble you or get at Midas to your disadvantage, and they themselves will not try to play tricks with you, for fear of the consequences. Moreover, best of all, according to your former plan they would suppose that it was I that gave them their freedom; whereas if you buy them and then, after a time, whenever it suits you, give them their liberty, they will feel that they owe you a double debt of gratitude. As for any debts," he added, "that they may have contracted, such as the price of some unguents which they got from Pancalus and Procles, or any of the usual deposits invested by customers of the shop, you may as well take them over. They are very trifling, and there are stores in the workshop,"—unguents, he said, and alabaster scent-boxes and myrrh, and sundry other objects which he named—"which will be more than enough to enable you to discharge them easily."

Now, here, gentlemen, as it turned out, was the trick, the essence of the whole artifice. If I merely paid him down the price required in order to purchase their freedom, then I should simply lose the sum that I might have paid him, which would not have been an irretrievable disaster. But if I bought them right out, by a formal purchase, and accepted the responsibility for their debts, believing them, in my ignorance, to be inconsiderable, then he meant presently to bring all the creditors and depositors down upon me, and catch me in the net of my agreement. This is precisely what happened. The moment that I assented to his proposition, he produced a tablet from his lap, which he had there, all ready and written out, and read aloud its contents, which

were the contract to be made with me. I admit that I did indeed hear its terms as he read them, but I was in a hurry to accomplish the business for which I had come; and so he seals the contract then and there in the house, in order that no friend of mine might hear its contents. The name conjoined with mine as surety was that of Nikon of Cephisia. Then we came to the shop and deposited the tablet with Lysicles of Leuconoë; I paid over the forty minas, and the purchase was complete.

No sooner was the transaction accomplished than the creditors to whom Midas owed money and the depositors who had contributed the share capital, came and entered into communication with me, and in the course of three months the sum total of my indebtedness was revealed to me. It amounted in all, including the sums due to the depositors, to five talents, as I said just now.

When I knew the extent of my calamity I did what I should have done earlier; I summoned my friends and relations, and we read aloud the copy of the contract. In it the names of Pancalus and Polycles were expressly mentioned, with the statement that the price of certain unguents was due to them,—small amounts, which it might legitimately be said were covered by the value of the stores in the warehouse; most of the debts, however, including all the greater ones, had not been mentioned in detail, but it was merely added, as though it were an afterthought, “and any other debts that Midas may have incurred.” Similarly with the deposits. One single individual, Dicæocrates, was mentioned by name, to whom three installments were still due. This liability was duly entered under the name of Dicæocrates, but the other deposits, on which Midas had received practically the whole capital, and the obligations on which were freshly incurred,

these he did not mention in the agreement, but kept the transactions perfectly secret.

After we had taken counsel together we decided to proceed to Athenogenes and talk over the matter with him. We found him near the perfumers' shops, and we asked him whether he was not ashamed of his lies and of the trap which he had laid for us in the contract by not mentioning the debts. He replied that he knew nothing of the debts of which we spoke, and that he could not be troubled to listen to us, adding that he had in his possession an agreement with me which settled the matter. Our discussion was carried on in the Agora, and a large crowd assembled which, after listening to the affair, began to cry him down and encouraged us to arrest him as a kidnapper and hale him off to justice. However, we thought that this was hardly admissible, and accordingly we took out a summons against him in the ordinary legal way, to appear for justice before your court.

In the first place, therefore, the contract shall be read to you. From the text of that you will learn the craft of our friend here. Read the contract.

[The contract is read by the clerk.]

Gentlemen, you have now heard the whole story in all its details. Possibly, however, Athenogenes will plead, when his turn comes, that the law declares all agreements between man and man to be binding. *Just* agreements, my dear sir. Unjust ones, on the contrary, it declares shall not be binding. I will make this clearer to you from the actual words of the laws. You need not be surprised at my acquaintance with them. You have brought me to such a pass and have filled me with such a fear of being ruined by you and your cleverness that I make it my first and main duty to search and study the laws night and day.

Now one law forbids falsehood in the market-place, and a very excellent injunction it is, in my opinion; yet you have, in open market, concluded a contract with me to my detriment by means of falsehoods. For if you can show that you told me beforehand of all the loans and debts, or that you mentioned in the contract the full amount of them, as I have since found it to be, I will abandon the prosecution and confess that I have done you an injustice.

There is, however, also a second law bearing on this point, which relates to bargains between individuals by verbal agreements. It provides that "when a party sells a slave he shall declare beforehand if he has any blemish; if he omit to do so, he shall be compelled to make restitution." If, then, the vendor of a slave can be compelled to make restitution because he has omitted to mention some chance infirmity, is it possible that you should be free to refuse responsibility for the fraudulent bargain which you have deliberately devised? Moreover, an epileptic slave does not involve in ruin all the rest of his owner's property, whereas Midas, whom you sold to me, has ruined, not me alone, but even my friends as well.

And now, Athenogenes, proceed to consider how the law stands, not only with respect to slaves, but also concerning free men. Even you, I suppose, know that children born of a lawfully betrothed wife are legitimate. The lawgiver, however, was not content with merely providing that a wife should be betrothed by her father or brother, in order to establish legitimacy. On the contrary, he expressly enacts that "if a man shall give a woman in betrothal justly and equitably, the children born of such marriage shall be legitimate," but not if he betroths her on false representations and inequitable terms. Thus the law makes just betrothals valid, and unjust ones it declares invalid.

Again, the law relating to testaments is of a similar nature. It enacts that a man may dispose of his own property as he pleases, "provided that he be not disqualified by old age or disease or insanity, or be influenced by a woman's persuasions, and that he be not in bonds or under any other constraint." In circumstances, then, in which marriages and testaments relating solely to a man's own property are invalidated, how can it be right to maintain the validity of such an agreement as I have described, which was drawn up by Athenogenes in order to steal property belonging to me?

Can it be right that the disposition of one's property by will should be nullified if it is made under the persuasions of a woman, while, if I am persuaded by Athenogenes' mistress and am entrapped by them into making this agreement, I am thereby to be ruined, in spite of the express support which is given me by the law? Can you actually dare to rest your case on the contract of which you and your mistress procured the signature by fraud, which is also the very ground on which I am now charging you with conspiracy, since my belief in your good faith induced me to accept the conditions which you proposed? You are not content with having got the forty minas which I paid for the slaves, but you must needs plunder me of five talents in addition, plucking me like a bird taken in a snare. To this end you have the face to say that you could not inform me of the amount of the debts which Midas had contracted, because you had not the time to ascertain it. Why, gentlemen, I, who brought absolute inexperience into the management of commercial matters, had not the slightest difficulty in learning the whole amount of the debts and the loans within three months; but he, with an hereditary experience of three generations in the business of a perfumery,—he, who was at his place in the market

every day of his life,—he, who owned three shops and had his accounts made up every month,—he, forsooth, was not aware of the debts! He is no fool in other matters, but in his dealings with his slave it appears he at once became a mere idiot, knowing of some of the debts, while others, he says, he did not know of,—those, I take it, which he did not want to know of. Such a contention, gentlemen, is not a defence, but an admission that he has no sound defence to offer. If he states that he was not aware of the debts, it is plain that he cannot at the same time plead that he told me all about them; and it is palpably unjust to require me to discharge debts of the existence of which the vendor never informed me.

Well, then, Athenogenes, I think it is tolerably plain on many grounds that you knew of Midas's debts, and not the least from the fact that you demanded.¹ . . .

If, however, you did not inform me of the total amount of the debts simply because you did not know it yourself, and I entered into the contract under the belief that what I had heard from you was the full sum of them, which of us ought in fairness to be liable for them,—I, who purchased the property after their contraction, or you who originally received the sums borrowed? In my opinion it should be you; but if we differ on this point let the law be our arbiter. The law was not made either by infatuated lovers or by men engaged in conspiracy against their neighbors' property, but by the most public-spirited of statesmen, Solon. Solon, knowing that sales of property are common in the city, enacted a law—and one universally admitted to be just—to the effect that fines and expenditures incurred by slaves should be discharged by the master for whom they work. And this is

¹ The rest of the column is hopelessly mutilated.

only reasonable; for if a slave effect a good stroke of business or establish a flourishing industry, it is his master who reaps the profit of it. You, however, pass over the law in silence, and are eloquent about the iniquity of breaking contracts. Whereas Solon held that a law was more valid than a temporary ordinance, however just that ordinance might be, you demand that a fraudulent contract should outweigh all laws and all justice alike.

I am told, however, that the defendant has another plea in reserve, and will argue that I brought all this mischief on my own head by disregarding his advice. He will declare that he offered to let me take the two boys, but that he urged me to leave Midas to him and not to buy him. I, however, he says, refused and insisted upon buying all three. And this, they say, he intends to plead before a court such as the present! His object, of course, is to assume the appearance of fair dealing, but he must have forgotten that he will not be addressing an audience of fools, but one quite capable of seeing through his shameless effrontery. Let me tell you the actual facts, and you will see that they are of a piece with the rest of the conduct of himself and his confederate. He sent the boy, whom I mentioned just now, to me, to say that he could not be mine unless I bought his father and his brother as well as himself. I had actually assented to this and promised to pay the price for all three of them, when Athenogenes, thinking that he now had the upper hand and wishing me to have as much trouble as possible, came to some of my friends.¹ . . .

Now I am no professional perfume-seller, neither have I learned any other trade. I simply till the land which my father gave me. It was solely by this man's craft that I was entrapped into the sale. Which is more probable on the

¹ The rest of the column is mutilated.

face of things, Athenogenes,—that I was coveting your business (a business of which I had no sort of experience), or that you and your mistress were plotting to get my money? I certainly think the design was on your side.¹ . . .

Further, at the time of the war against Philip he left the city shortly before the battle, and instead of marching out with us to Chæronea he migrated to Troezen. By so doing he broke the law which enacts that if a man migrates from the city during time of war he shall be liable to impeachment and summary arrest whenever he returns. His action shows that he had made up his mind that that city would escape peril, while he laid ours under sentence of death; and he corroborated this by not marrying his daughters here in Athens, but giving them to husbands in Troezen.² . . .

So while he has broken the general covenant which every citizen makes with his state, he lays stress on the private covenant which he made with me, apparently expecting people to believe that a man who is indifferent to justice in his dealings with you would have been careful to observe it in his dealings with me! Why, so universal and impartial was he in his want of principle that, when he had gone to Troezen, and the people of Troezen had conferred their citizenship upon him, he put himself under the directions of Mnesias of Argos, and having been appointed archon by his means, expelled the citizens from their own city. They will prove this to you themselves, since they are living here in exile. You, gentlemen, gave them an asylum when they were expelled from their country, you gave them your citizenship, you shared with them every privilege that you possess. You re-

¹ The remainder of this column and the whole of the next are either lost or so mutilated as to be unintelligible.

² When the next continuous passage is reached, the speaker has quitted the direct issue and is attacking the political conduct of his adversary.

membered the service which they had rendered to you, more than a hundred and fifty years ago, during the war with Persia, and you recognized the duty of helping in the hour of their misfortune those who had aided you in the hour of your peril. But this scoundrel, this deserter from Athens who had procured admission as a citizen of Troezen, when once his position was thus secured, cared nothing for either the state or the welfare of the citizens, but behaved with the utmost barbarity towards the city which had granted him its hospitality.¹ . . .

To prove the truth of these assertions the clerk shall read to you, first, the law which forbids resident aliens to migrate in time of war; secondly, the evidence of the Troezenians; and finally the ordinance which these same Troezenians passed in your honor, in return for which you gave them asylum here and conferred your citizenship upon them. Read.

[The law, the evidence, and the ordinance are read.]

Now take the deposition of his own relative. . . .

You know of what manner he conspired against me, and how he has been found a traitor against your state; how he despaired of your safety and abandoned the commonweal in the hour of danger; and how he has made homeless many of those to whom he migrated. Will you not then punish this scoundrel, now that you have him in your power? And for myself, gentlemen, I implore you not to refuse me your protection. Reflect that your decision in this case is a matter of life or death for me, while an adverse verdict will inflict no very serious loss upon him. . . . Remember, gentlemen, the oath that you have taken and the laws that have been read in your ears, and give sentence against him in accordance with the justice that you have sworn to observe.

¹ Half a column is hopelessly mutilated here.

ÆSCHINES



ÆSCHINES, an Athenian orator and contemporary and rival of Demosthenes, by whom he was repeatedly denounced for his (Æschines's) relations with his country's aggressor, Philip of Macedon. Born in 389 B. C., five years before the birth of Demosthenes, Æschines seems to have had no special educational advantages, and therefore became what we would now call a self-made man. He was, however, of good appearance and address, and possessed the natural gifts of eloquence and a sonorous voice, which he at first exercised as an actor on the Athenian stage. After a brief and creditable career of military service, he became a clerk or scribe in the popular assembly at Athens, where he became familiar with the political affairs of his country, and when, later on, he himself took part in debate, he received that training as a public speaker which was to distinguish him in after-life. Though at first opposed to Macedonian aggression on the Greek states and actively engaged in rousing the Greeks and their allies against Philip and in defence of the liberties of his countrymen, Æschines was won over to Philip and espoused his cause at Athens by seeking to allay public alarm and susceptibility at Philip's designs. The Macedonian victory (338 B. C.) at Chæronea and the prostration of Greek power which followed the battle justified Athenian suspicion of Philip's intentions and disclosed to Demosthenes and his party in the state the true relations of Æschines to the conqueror. This was further seen when Æschines boasted of his intimacy with Philip, though he professed to urge him to leniency towards the Athenian patriots and offered to act as ambassador to the victor to secure this end. The hostility of Demosthenes was due to the fact that he believed Æschines to have been in the pay of Philip, and was thus an enemy of the Athenian people. Hostility was turned to hatred when Æschines turned upon Ctesiphon, a member of the Greek Council of Five Hundred, who proposed that Demosthenes should be given a golden crown by the state for his patriotic services, and some six years later prosecuted him, on the ground of proposing an unconstitutional act. In his speech for the prosecution, Æschines launched out into a slanderous attack upon his rival Demosthenes, which gave the greater orator the opportunity not only of defending himself with success, but of giving to the world one of the noblest orations ever spoken or penned—his reply to

Æschines, known as the "Oration on the Crown." The result of this great speech of Demosthenes was the acquittal of Ctesiphon, and the compulsory withdrawal of Æschines to Asia Minor, where he founded a school of oratory at Rhodes. The "De Corona" oration, moreover, not only confirmed Demosthenes and the patriotic party in the esteem and regard of the Athenian citizens, but elicited the wonder and applause of all who heard the great orator's magnificent vindication. Its force was all the more effective, since, in contrast with that of Æschines, the oration of Demosthenes, though most eloquent, was unmarred by personal detraction and abuse. Æschines remained in exile, and died in Samos in 314 B. C.

AGAINST CROWNING DEMOSTHENES

YOU see, Athenians, what preparations are on foot, what forces are arrayed, what appeals to the Assembly are being made by certain persons to prevent the proper and ordinary course of justice from having its effect in the city. For myself I come before you, first, with a firm belief in the immortal gods, next, with an abiding confidence in the laws and in you, convinced that intrigues will not more avail with you than these laws and the cause of justice.

I could indeed have fain desired that both in the Council of Five Hundred and in the Assembly the presiding officers had compelled conformity to established rules of debate, and that the laws had been enforced concerning the orderly deportment of public speakers which were laid down by Solon. It should thus have been permitted to the oldest citizens, as the laws prescribe, to ascend the platform decorously, and without tumult or annoyance, according to their experience, express their opinions upon what they regarded most advantageous to the city. Afterwards, each citizen in order of seniority should have in turn presented his independent views upon every question.

In this way it seems to me would the affairs of the city have been best conducted, and prosecutions have been reduced

within the smallest compass. Since, however, the old recognized rules of procedure have been swept away, and certain men recklessly introduce illegal propositions, and certain others put them to the vote,—men who have managed to secure the presidency, not by just and proper means, but taking possession of it by contrivance,—it is brought to pass that if any other senator shall succeed in reaching the first place in due course of law and shall then attempt to obtain the result of your votes properly, such an one is denounced and impeached by the men who regard our government as no longer a common inheritance but as their own peculiar property. And when in this way, by reducing private citizens to servitude and by securing absolute power to themselves, they have overthrown established legal judgments and have passed decrees according to the dictates of their passions, there shall be heard no longer that most beautiful and proper invitation of the herald, “Who desires to express his opinion, of citizens of fifty years of age and upwards, and afterwards, of all others in rotation?”

Thus neither the laws, nor the senators, nor the presidents, nor the presiding tribe itself a tenth part of the city, can control the indecent conduct of these orators.

Such being the case, and such the position in which the city is placed,—and you must be convinced that this is so,—one part at least of the constitution, if I know anything of the matter, still survives,—the right of prosecution for proposing unconstitutional measures. Should you destroy this right, or surrender it to those who will destroy it, I prophesy that you will have unconsciously given away to a few men almost our entire form of government. For you must surely know, Athenians, that but three forms of government exist, monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy: the two former are adminis-

tered according to the feelings and opinions of those who are at the head of affairs, but republics repose upon the authority of law. Let no one of you, therefore, forget, but on the contrary let him lay it carefully to heart, that when he enters this tribunal for the trial of such an issue, on that day he is called upon to cast his vote upon his own right of free speech. Therefore was it that our old lawgivers placed in the forefront of the juror's oath these words, "I will render a verdict according to law," knowing well that when the laws were jealously observed by the city free institutions were safe.

Wherefore it is that, bearing these things in mind, you should hold in abhorrence all who commit unconstitutional acts, and that you should look upon no infraction of the constitution as small or unimportant, but treat all as of the gravest nature. Nor should you suffer any man to deprive you of this most vital right,—neither the persuasions of the generals who for a long time past have been at work with certain of our orators to overthrow the constitution, nor the solicitations of strangers whom those whose administration has been illegal have brought up hither to screen them from justice; but as each one of you would blush to quit the ranks in which he was stationed on the day of battle, so you should now blush at the thought of abandoning the post in which you are placed by the laws which are to-day the guardians of our institutions.

You must further bear in mind that your fellow citizens have now entrusted to your keeping the city itself in thus confiding the constitution to your charge; not only those of them who are here present intent upon the course of this trial, but those also who are necessarily absent upon their private business. If, therefore, holding in due regard these your fellow citizens, and remembering the oaths you have sworn and the laws you are living under, you should convict Ctesiphon for

having introduced an unconstitutional bill false in terms and injurious to the city, overturn, Athenians, such unconstitutional enactments, confirm our free institutions, and punish the men who have been advising against the law and against the interests both of the State and of yourselves. If in this frame of mind you listen to the words which are about to be spoken, I well know that your verdict will be in accordance with justice and right, and that it will redound to the credit of yourselves and of the whole community.

I have thus far spoken about the general nature of this prosecution, and, I hope, with sufficient fairness. I now desire to speak briefly about the laws which have been passed in regard to persons who are accountable to the State, against which the decree of Ctesiphon offends.

In former times it happened that men who had exercised the highest employments and had been entrusted with the management of the public revenues, although guilty therein of the grossest corruption, would, by conniving with certain orators both in the Senate and the General Assembly, anticipate all examination into their accounts by means of votes of commendation and proclamations of thanks in their behalf. Not only were citizens who attempted to bring them to justice for the state of their accounts in this way much perplexed, but the jurors themselves who were to try the cause were reduced to a grave dilemma. And many of these officials, although clearly proved to have embezzled public moneys in the most flagrant way, were yet permitted to leave the judgment-seat unpunished. And not unreasonably. For the jurors were ashamed, it seems to me, that it should appear that the same man in the same city, and perchance in the very same year, who had been proclaimed in the Assemblies as worthy of being honored with a golden crown by the

people for his virtue and uprightness, should a short time afterwards be brought to trial, and go forth from our courts of justice convicted of fraud in his accounts. So that the jurors were compelled, as it were, to give their verdict not so much upon the crime which was proven, as in regard to the honor of the city itself. And hence it was that one of our lawgivers provided for this very emergency by propounding a law — and a most admirable one it was — by which the coronation of all persons liable to account was distinctly forbidden. Notwithstanding the passage of this law, evasions of it more efficacious than the law itself have been invented, in ignorance of which, unless they be explained to you, you would be entirely deceived. Thus decrees for the crowning of officials while they were still liable to account were introduced contrary to law by men not ill disposed by nature,— if any one can be well-disposed who thus acts illegally,— and by way of a salve to propriety they added to the propositions the words, “after they shall have rendered a correct account of their administration.” The city, however, was injured in the same way by this evasion, since the accounting was equally forestalled by the panegyrics and votes of crowns; and the propounder of the decree, by thus qualifying it, admitted to his discredit that at the time of its proposal he was conscious of an intended infraction of the law. But this fellow Ctesiphon, men of Athens, at one bound clears both law and qualification; for by his decree he asks that Demosthenes, while actually in office, before he has furnished any explanations or delivered in any accounts, shall be crowned by the people. . . .

You have just heard, Athenians, that the law directs the proclamation of one who is crowned by the people to be made in the Pnyx at an Assembly of the people, and nowhere else.

Ctesiphon, however, not only transgresses the law by directing it to be done in the theatre, thus changing the place from that where the Athenians hold their Assembly, but he commands it to take place, not before the people alone, but in presence of the assembled Greeks, that they may see along with us what manner of man it is whom we thus honor. . . .

Since, then, it is directed that those honored with a crown by the Senate shall be proclaimed in the Senate Chamber, and those crowned by the people in the Assembly, and it is interdicted to those crowned by the tribes or demes to be so proclaimed in the theatre, that no one by mean solicitations for crowns and proclamations should thereby obtain a spurious honor, and it is moreover forbidden by the law that proclamation shall be made by any one unless by the Senate, the people, the tribes, and the demes; if all these be excepted, what remains but the case of crowns conferred by foreign states? That this is manifestly so, I shall convince you by the laws themselves. . . .

Besides it is enjoined by law that the crown of gold which shall be proclaimed in the theatre in behalf of any one shall be taken from him and consecrated to Athene. Who would dare, however, from this, to accuse the people of Athens of a sordid economy? Never was there a city, never an individual, so destitute of generosity, as in the same moment to proclaim, take away, and consecrate a crown of their own bestowal! This consecration is doubtless directed to be made because the crown has been conferred by strangers, that no man may estimate a foreign honor as of greater value than his country, and may not be tempted in consequence to fail in his devotion to her. The crown conferred by the people and proclaimed in the Assembly is never consecrated, but on the contrary is

permitted to be enjoyed, not only by its recipient, but by his descendants, that by preserving this memorial in their family they may never become ill-disposed to their country. And this is the reason why the lawmaker has prohibited the proclamation in the theatre of a crown conferred by strangers unless authorized by a decree of the people,—that the foreign city which may desire so to honor one of your citizens shall first through an embassy demand it of the people; and thus he who is crowned shall owe a higher debt of gratitude to you who have permitted the proclamation than to those who have presented him with the crown itself. . . .

I may here foretell the part that he will play when he sees that you are in earnest in your endeavor to hold him to his true course. Ctesiphon will introduce that arch-impostor, that plunderer of the public, who has cut the constitution into shreds; the man who can weep more easily than others laugh, and from whom perjury flows in ready words!

He can, I doubt not, change his tone, and pass from tears to gross abuse, insult the citizens who are listening outside, and cry out that the partisans of oligarchical power, detected by the hand of truth, are pressing round the prosecutor to support him, while the friends of the constitution are rallying round the accused. And when he dares to speak so, answer thus his seditious menaces: “What, Demosthenes, had the heroes who brought back our fugitive citizens from Phyle been like you, our democratic form of government had ceased to exist! Those illustrious men saved the State exhausted by great civil disorders in pronouncing that wise and admirable sentence ‘oblivion of all offences.’ But you, more careful of your rounded periods than of the city’s safety, are willing to reopen all her wounds.”

When this perjurer shall seek for credit by taking refuge

in his oaths, remind him that to the forsworn man who asks belief in them from those he has deceived so often, of two things one is needful, neither of which exists for Demosthenes; he must either get new gods, or an audience not the same. And to his tears and wordy lamentations, when he shall ask, "Whither shall I fly, Athenians, should you cast me out, I have not where to rest," reply, "Where shall the people seek refuge, Demosthenes; what allies, what resources, what reserve have you prepared for us? We all see what you have provided for yourself? When you have left the city, you shall not stop, as you would seem, to dwell in Piræus, but, quickly thence departing, you shall visit other lands, with all the appointments for your journey provided through your corruption from Persian gold or public plunder."

But why at all these tears, these cries, this voice of lamentation? Is it not Ctesiphon who is accused, and even for him may not the penalty be moderated by you? Thou pleadest not, Demosthenes, either for thy life, thy fortune, or thy honor! Why is he then so disquieted? About crowns of gold, and proclamations in the theatre against the laws: the man who, were the people so insensate or so forgetful of the present as to wish to crown him in this time of public distress, should himself step forth and say, "Men of Athens, while I accept the crown, I disapprove the proclamation of the honor at a time like this: it should not be in regard to things for which the State is now mourning and while it is in the depth of grief." Would not a man whose life was really upright so speak out; only a knave who assumes the garb of virtue would talk as you do?

Let none of you, by Hercules, be apprehensive lest this high-souled citizen, this distinguished warrior, from loss of this reward should on his return home take his life. The

man who rates so low your consideration as to make a thousand incisions on that impure and mortgaged head which Ctesiphon proposes against all law to honor with a crown, makes money of his wounds by bringing actions for the effects of his own premeditated blows. Yes, that crown of his so often battered, that perhaps even now it bears upon it the marks of Midias' anger, that crown which brings its owner in an income, serves both for revenue and head! . . .

And can it be that he whom you have thought worthy by your decree, of the honor of this crown, is so unknown to the public which has been so largely benefited by him that you must procure assistance to speak in his behalf? Ask of the jurors whether they know Chabrias, Iphicrates, and Timotheus, and learn from them why they have honored and erected statues to them? Will they not proclaim with one voice that they rendered honor to Chabrias for his naval victory near Naxos; to Iphicrates for having cut off a Spartan corps; to Timotheus for his expedition to Corcyra; to other heroes for their many glorious achievements? Ask them now why Demosthenes is to be rewarded. Is it for his venality, for his cowardice, for his base desertion of his post in the day of battle? In honoring such an one will you not dishonor yourselves and the gallant men who have laid down their lives for you in the field?—whose plaintive remonstrances against the crowning of this man you may almost seem to hear! Strange, passing strange, does it seem, Athenians, that you banish from the limits of the State the stocks and stones, the senseless implements which have unwittingly caused death by casualty; that the hand which has inflicted the wound of self-destruction is buried apart from the rest of the body; and that yet you can render honor to this Demosthenes, by whose counsels this last fatal expedition in

which your troops were slaughtered and destroyed was planned! The victims of this massacre are thus insulted in their graves, and the survivors outraged and discouraged when they behold the only reward of patriotic valor to be an unremembered death and a disregarded memory! And last and most important of all consequences, what answer shall you make to your children when they ask you after what examples they shall frame their lives? It is not, men of Athens,—you know it well,—it is not the palæstra, the seminary, or the study of the liberal arts alone, which form and educate our youth. Of vastly greater value are the lessons taught by these honors publicly conferred. Is a man proclaimed and crowned in the theatre for virtue, courage, and patriotism when his irregular and vicious life belies the honor, the young who witness this are perverted and corrupted! Is a profligate and a pander, such as Ctesiphon, sentenced and punished, an instructive lesson is given to the rising generation. Has a citizen voted in opposition to justice and propriety, and does he, on his return to his house, attempt to instruct his son; disobedience surely follows, and the lesson is justly looked upon as importunate and out of place. Pronounce your verdict then, not as simple jurors, but as guardians of the State, whose decision can be justified in the eyes of their absent fellow citizens who shall demand a strict account of it. Know ye not, Athenians, that the people is judged by the ministers whom it honors; will it not be disgraceful, then, that you shall be thought to resemble the baseness of Demosthenes, and not the virtues of your ancestors?

How, then, is this reproach to be avoided? It must be by distrusting the men who usurp the character of upright and patriotic citizens, which their entire conduct gainsays. Good

will and zeal for the public interest can be readily assumed in name; oftentimes those who have the smallest pretensions to them by their conduct seize upon and take refuge behind these honorable titles. When you find, then, an orator desirous of being crowned by strangers and of being proclaimed in presence of the Greeks, let him, as the law requires in other cases, prove the claim which he asserts by the evidence of a life free from reproach, and a wise and blameless course. If he be unable to do this, do not confirm to him the honors which he claims, and try at least to preserve the remnant of that public authority which is fast escaping from you. Even now, strange as it should seem, are not the Senate and the people passed over and neglected, and despatches and deputations received by private citizens, not from obscure individuals, but from the most important personages of Europe and Asia? Far from denying that for which under our laws the punishment is death, it is made the subject of open public boast; the correspondence is exhibited and read; and you are invited by some to look upon them as the guardians of the constitution, while others demand to be rewarded as the saviors of the country. The people, meanwhile, as if struck with the decrepitude of age and broken down by their misfortunes, preserve the republic only in name and abandon to others the reality of authority. You thus retire from the Assembly, not as from a public deliberation, but as from an entertainment given at common cost where each guest carries away with him a share of the remnants of the feast. That I speak forth the words of truth and soberness, hearken to what I am about to say.

It distresses me to recur so often to our public calamities, but when a private citizen undertook to sail only to Samos to get out of the way, he was condemned to death on the

same day by the Council of Areopagus as a traitor to his country. Another private citizen, unable to bear the fear which oppressed him, and sailing in consequence to Rhodes, was recently denounced for this and escaped punishment by an equal division of the votes. Had a single one been cast on the other side, he would have been either banished or put to death. Compare these instances with the present one. An orator, the cause of all our misfortunes, who abandons his post in time of war and flies from the city, proclaims himself worthy of crowns and proclamations. Will you not drive such a man from your midst as the common scourge of Greece; or will you not rather seize upon and punish him as a piratical braggart who steers his course through our government by dint of phrases?

Consider, moreover, the occasion on which you are called upon to record your verdict. In a few days the Pythian Games will be celebrated, and the assembled Greeks will all be reunited in your city. She has already suffered much disparagement from the policy of Demosthenes: should you now crown him by your votes you will seem to share the same opinions as the men who wish to break the common peace. By adopting the contrary course you will free the State from any such suspicion.

Let your deliberations, then, be in accord with the interests of the city: it is for her, and not a foreign community, you are now to decide. Do not throw away your honors, but confer them with discernment upon high-minded citizens and deserving men. Search with both eyes and ears as to who they are among you who are to-day standing forth in Demosthenes' behalf. Are they the companions of his youth who shared with him the manly toils of the chase or the robust exercises of the palæstra? No, by the Olympian Jove, he has

passed not his life in hunting the wild boar or in the preparation of his body for fatigue and hardship, but in the exercise of chicane at the cost of the substance of men of wealth!

Examine well his vainglorious boasting when he shall dare to say that by his embassy he withdrew the Byzantines from the cause of Philip; that by his eloquence he detached from him the Acarnanians, and so transported the Thebans as to confirm them upon your side. He believes indeed that you have reached such a point of credulity that you are ready to be persuaded by him of anything he may choose to utter, as if you had here in your midst the goddess Persuasion herself, and not an artful demagogue.

And when, at the close of his harangue, Demosthenes shall invite the partakers of his corruption to press round and defend him, let there be present in your imagination upon the platform from which I am now speaking the venerable forms of the ancient benefactors of the State, arrayed in all their virtue, to oppose these men's insolence. I see among them the wise Solon, that upright lawgiver who founded our popular government upon the soundest principles of legislation, gently advising you with his native moderation not to place your oaths and the law under the control of this man's discourse. And Aristides, by whose equity the imposts upon the Greeks were regulated, whose daughters, left in poverty through his incorruptible integrity, were endowed by the State, Aristides is seen complaining of this outrage upon justice, and demanding whether the descendants of the men who thought worthy of death and actually banished from their city and country Arthmius the Zelian, then living in their midst and enjoying the sacred rights of hospitality for merely bringing Persian gold into Greece, are now going to cover themselves with disgrace by honoring with a crown of

gold the man who has not simply brought hither the stranger's money, but is enjoying here the price of his treason. And Themistocles and the men who fell at Marathon and Plataea, think you that they are insensible to what is taking place! Do not their voices cry out from the very tombs in mournful protest against this perverse rendering of honor to one who has dared to proclaim his union with the barbarians against the Greeks!

As for me, O Earth and Sun, O Virtue, and thou, Intelligence, by whose light we are enabled to discern and to separate good from evil, as for me, I have directed my efforts against this wrong, I have lifted up my voice against this injustice! If I have spoken well and loftily against this crime, I have spoken as I could have wished; but if my utterances have been feeble and ill-directed, still they have been according to the measure of my strength. It is for you, men of Athens and jurors, to weigh carefully both what has been spoken and what has been left unsaid, and to render such a decision as shall not only be upright but for the advantage of the State.

[Translated by George W. Biddle. Used by permission of J. B. Lippincott & Co.]

DEMOSTHENES



DEMOSTHENES, the greatest of Greek orators, "the head of all the mighty masters of speech," was born in Attica in 384 B. C., and died on the island of Calauria, in 322 B. C., by taking poison to escape death by violence at the hands of the Macedonians. His father, who was a cutler and upholsterer at Athens, dying when his son was only eight years old, the family property fell into the hands of unscrupulous guardians, and when he came of age he received only about one-seventh of his patrimony. Meanwhile the youth had been trained by Isæus in law and rhetoric, and overcoming in some degree an impediment in his speech, he became a professional writer of speeches and pleas to be used in public suits, entering public life himself as a speaker in the popular assembly at Athens in the year 355, though continuing to practice law throughout his political career. In 351, the first of his three famous orations against his country's enemy, Philip of Macedon, known as "Philippics," appeared, in which Demosthenes sounded the trumpet-note of battle against the Macedonian aggressor, and depicts to his countrymen the peril of subjection to Macedonian arms—a peril that was realized when Philip totally defeated the combined Athenian and Theban army at Chæronea in 338 B. C. Demosthenes took part personally in that disastrous engagement, and the humiliation of his country's defeat was always a grief to him. Though he could not avert the doom that then fell upon Athens, against which he had patriotically striven to warn Hellas, he sought to repair in some measure the misfortunes of his country, and was called upon to deliver the funeral oration over the fallen. For these services and for what he had done in the way of domestic reform, as well as in recognition of his supreme gifts as an orator, Ctesiphon, a contemporary Athenian, proposed that Demosthenes should be honored by a public crowning by the State, and for this Ctesiphon was prosecuted by Æschines (see biography) and defended by Demosthenes, in his masterly "Oration on the Crown." Meanwhile, besides acting as leader of the patriotic party in Athens, and serving on an embassy which sought to make peace with Philip, Demosthenes also wrote three "Olynthiac" orations, delivered at Athens in the years 349–348, with the motive of inducing his countrymen to assist Olynthus against Philip. Besides the "Olynthiacs" and "Philippics," and the "Speech on the Crown" (De Corona), Demosthenes also wrote "On the Embassy," "On the Affairs of the Chersonese," and in these and many other writings he showed himself, in spite of his natural defects and limitations, the dramatic, impassioned, and brilliant orator and master of the rhetorician's art. In the main, he was beloved of the Athenian people, despite the hostility of his rival Æschines, and the accusation of having received bribes from Harpalus, treasurer of Alexander the Great, which led in 324 to his banishment from Athens. The death of Alexander in the following



DEMOSTHENES

year brought hope to Demosthenes of restoration to Athens, but the hope was of brief duration, for on his being recalled by the patriotic party with whom he had all along acted, Athens was marched upon by Antipater, and the Macedonians seeking his life, the great orator fled to the island of Calauria, where, in the temple of Neptune, he himself ended his career. This unhappy close of a strenuous public life was a great blow to Greek liberty, for Demosthenes had done much by voice and pen for Athenian freedom. He has left, in the following oration "On the Crown," not only the proofs of his devotion and patriotism, but viewed forensically a masterpiece of ancient eloquence. That he was forced to take his own life, rather than suffer the humiliation of falling into the hands of his own and his country's enemies, shows alike his own devotion to the State and the pitiful degeneracy which had come to Athens in an era of grave and untoward peril. As a pleader and rhetorician, great as his powers were in this respect, Demosthenes stands forth, beyond and above all his gifts, as a patriot and high-minded statesman.

SPEECH OF DEMOSTHENES IN DEFENCE OF CTESIPHON,
COMMONLY KNOWN AS THE "ORATION
ON THE CROWN"

I BEGIN, men of Athens, by praying to every god and goddess that the same good-will, which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you, may be requited to me on the present trial. I pray likewise—and this specially concerns yourselves, your religion, and your honor—that the gods may put it in your minds, not to take counsel of my opponent touching the manner in which I am to be heard—that would, indeed, be cruel!—but of the laws and of your oath; wherein (besides the other obligations) it is prescribed that you shall hear both sides alike. This means, not only that you must pass no pre-condemnation, not only that you must extend your good-will equally to both, but also that you must allow the parties to adopt such order and course of defence as they severally choose and prefer.

Many advantages hath Æschines over me on this trial; and two especially, men of Athens. First, my risk in the contest is not the same. It is assuredly not the same for me to forfeit your regard, as for my adversary not to succeed in his indictment. To me—but I will say nothing untoward at the outset of my address. The prosecution, however, is play to him. My second disadvantage is, the natural disposition of mankind to take pleasure in hearing invective and accusation, and to be annoyed by those who praise themselves. To Æschines is assigned the part which gives pleasure; that which is (I may fairly say) offensive to all, is left for me. And if, to escape from this, I make no mention of what I have done, I shall appear to be without defence against his charges, without proof of my claims to honor; whereas, if I proceed to give an account of my conduct and measures, I shall be forced to speak frequently of myself. I will endeavor then to do so with all becoming modesty; what I am driven to by the necessity of the case will be fairly chargeable to my opponent, who has instituted such a prosecution.

I think, men of the jury, you will all agree that I, as well as Ctesiphon, am a party to this proceeding, and that it is a matter of no less concern to me. It is painful and grievous to be deprived of anything, especially by the act of one's enemy; but your goodwill and affection are the heaviest loss, precisely as they are the greatest prize to gain.

Such being the matters at stake in this cause, I conjure and implore you all alike, to hear my defence to the charge in that fair manner which the laws prescribe—laws, to which their author, Solon, a man friendly to you and to popular rights, thought that validity should be given, not only by the recording of them, but by the oath of you the jurors;

not that he distrusted you, as it appears to me, but, seeing that the charges and calumnies, wherein the prosecutor is powerful by being the first speaker, cannot be got over by the defendant, unless each of you jurors, observing his religious obligation, shall with like favor receive the arguments of the last speaker, and lend an equal and impartial ear to both, before he determines upon the whole case.

As I am, it appears, on this day to render an account both of my private life and my public measures, I would fain, as in the outset, call the gods to my aid; and in your presence I implore them, first, that the goodwill which I have ever cherished toward the commonwealth and all of you may be fully requited to me on the present trial; next, that they may direct you to such a decision upon this indictment as will conduce to your common honor, and to the good conscience of each individual.

Had Æschines confined his charge to the subject of the prosecution, I, too, would have proceeded at once to my justification of the decree. But since he has wasted no fewer words in the discussion of other matters, in most of them calumniating me, I deem it both necessary and just, men of Athens, to begin by shortly adverting to these points, that none of you may be induced by extraneous arguments to shut your ears against my defence to the indictment.

To all his scandalous abuse of my private life, observe my plain and honest answer. If you know me to be such as he alleged—for I have lived nowhere else but among you—let not my voice be heard, however transcendent my statesmanship! Rise up this instant and condemn me! But if, in your opinion and judgment, I am far better and of better descent than my adversary; if (to speak

without offence) I am not inferior, I or mine, to any respectable citizens; then give no credit to him for his other statements—it is plain they were all equally fictions—but to me let the same goodwill, which you have uniformly exhibited upon many former trials, be manifested now. With all your malice, Æschines, it was very simple to suppose that I should turn from the discussion of measures and policy to notice your scandal. I will do no such thing; I am not so crazed. Your lies and calumnies about my political life I will examine forthwith; for that loose ribaldry I shall have a word hereafter, if the jury desire to hear it.

The crimes whereof I am accused are many and grievous; for some of them the laws enact heavy—most severe penalties. The scheme of this present proceeding includes a combination of spiteful insolence, insult, railing, aspersion, and everything of the kind; while for the said charges and accusations, if they were true, the state has not the means of inflicting an adequate punishment, or anything like it. For it is not right to debar another of access to the people and privilege of speech; moreover, to do so by way of malice and insult—by Heaven! is neither honest, nor constitutional, nor just. If the crimes which he saw me committing against the state were as heinous as he so tragically gave out, he ought to have enforced the penalties of the law against them at the time; if he saw me guilty of an impeachable offence, by impeaching and so bringing me to trial before you; if moving illegal decrees, by indicting me for them. For surely, if he can prosecute Ctesiphon on my account, he would not have forbore to indict me myself, had he thought he could convict me. In short, whatever else he saw me doing to

your prejudice, whether mentioned or not mentioned in his catalogue of slander, there are laws for such things, and punishments, and trials, and judgments, with sharp and severe penalties; all of which he might have enforced against me: and had he done so—had he thus pursued the proper method with me, his charges would have been consistent with his conduct. But now he has declined the straightforward and just course, avoided all proofs of guilt at the time, and after this long interval gets up, to play his part withal, a heap of accusation, ribaldry, and scandal. Then he arraigns me, but prosecutes the defendant. His hatred of me he makes the prominent part of the whole contest; yet, without having ever met me upon that ground, he openly seeks to deprive a third party of his privileges. Now, men of Athens, besides all the other arguments that may be urged in Ctesiphon's behalf, this, methinks, may very fairly be alleged—that we should try our own quarrel by ourselves; not leave our private dispute, and look what third party we can damage. That surely were the height of injustice.

It may appear, from what has been said, that all his charges are alike unjust and unfounded in truth. Yet I wish to examine them separately, and especially his calumnies about the peace and the embassy, where he attributed to me the acts of himself and Philocrates. It is necessary also, and perhaps proper, men of Athens, to remind you how affairs stood at those times, that you may consider every single measure in reference to the occasion.

When the Phocian war had broken out—not through me, for I had not then commenced public life—you were in this position: you wished the Phocians to be saved, though you saw they were not acting right; and would

have been glad for the Thebans to suffer anything, with whom for a just reason you were angry; for they had not borne with moderation their good fortune at Leuctra. The whole of Peloponnesus was divided: they that hated the Lacedæmonians were not powerful enough to destroy them; and they that ruled before by Spartan influence were not masters of the states: among them, as among the rest of the Greeks, there was a sort of unsettled strife and confusion. Philip, seeing this—it was not difficult to see—lavished bribes upon the traitors in every state, embroiled and stirred them all up against each other; and so, by the errors and follies of the rest, he was strengthening himself, and growing up to the ruin of all. But when every one saw that the then overbearing, but now unfortunate, Thebans, harassed by so long a war, must of necessity have recourse to you; Philip, to prevent this, and obstruct the union of the states, offered to you peace, to them succor. What helped him then almost to surprise you in a voluntary snare? The cowardice, shall I call it? or ignorance—or both—of the other Greeks; who, while you were waging a long and incessant war—and that, too, for their common benefit, as the event has shown—assisted you neither with money nor men, nor anything else whatsoever. You, being justly and naturally offended with them, lent a willing ear to Philip.

The peace then granted was through such means brought about, not through me, as Æschines calumniously charged. The criminal and corrupt practices of these men during the treaty will be found, on fair examination, to be the cause of our present condition. The whole matter am I for truth's sake discussing and going through; for, let there appear to be ever so much crimi-

nality in these transactions, it is surely nothing to me. The first who spoke and mentioned the subject of peace was Aristodemus the actor; the seconder and mover, fellow-hireling for that purpose with the prosecutor, was Philocrates the Agnusian—your associate, Æschines, not mine, though you should burst with lying. Their supporters—from whatever motives—I pass that by for the present—were Eubulus and Cephisophon. I had nothing to do with it.

Notwithstanding these facts, which I have stated exactly according to the truth, he ventured to assert—to such a pitch of impudence had he come—that I, besides being author of the peace, had prevented the country making it in a general council with the Greeks. Why, you—I know not what name you deserve!—when you saw me robbing the state of an advantage and connection so important as you described just now, did you ever express indignation? did you come forward to publish and proclaim what you now charge me with? If, indeed, I had been bribed by Philip to prevent the conjunction of the Greeks, it was your business not to be silent, but to cry out, to protest, and inform the people. But you never did so—your voice was never heard to such a purpose, and no wonder; for at that time no embassy had been sent to any of the Greeks—they had all been tested long before; and not a word of truth upon the subject has Æschines spoken.

Besides, it is the country that he most traduces by his falsehoods. For, if you were at the same time calling on the Greeks to take arms and sending your own ambassadors to treat with Philip for peace, you were performing the part of an Eurybatus, not the act of a commonwealth, or of

honest men. But it is false, it is false. For what purpose could ye have sent for them at that period? For peace? They all had it. For war? You were yourselves deliberating about peace. It appears, therefore, I was not the adviser or the author of the original peace; and none of his other calumnies against me are shown to be true.

Observe again, after the state had concluded the peace, what line of conduct each of us adopted. Hence you will understand who it was that co-operated in everything with Philip; who that acted in your behalf, and sought the advantage of the commonwealth.

I moved in the council, that our ambassadors should sail instantly for whatever place they heard Philip was in, and receive his oath: they would not, however, notwithstanding my resolution. What was the effect of this, men of Athens? I will explain. It was Philip's interest that the interval before the oaths should be as long as possible; yours, that it should be as short. Why? Because you discontinued all your warlike preparations, not only from the day of swearing peace, but from the day that you conceived hopes of it; a thing which Philip was from the beginning studious to contrive, believing—rightly enough—that whatever of our possessions he might take before the oath of ratification he should hold securely; as none would break the peace on such account. I, men of Athens, foreseeing and weighing these consequences, moved the decree, to sail for whatever place Philip was in, and receive his oath without delay; so that your allies, the Thracians, might be in possession of the places which Æschines ridiculed just now (Serrium, Myrtium, and Ergisee), at the time of swearing the oaths; and that Philip might not become master of Thrace by securing the posts of vantage, nor provide him-

self with plenty of money and troops to facilitate his further designs. Yet this decree he neither mentions nor reads; but reproaches me, because, as Councillor, I thought proper to introduce the ambassadors. Why, what should I have done? Moved not to introduce men who were come for the purpose of conferring with you? or ordered the Manager not to assign them places at the theatre? They might have had places for their two obols, if the resolution had not been moved. Was it my duty to guard the petty interests of the state, and have sold our main interests like these men? Surely not. Take and read me this decree, which the prosecutor, knowing it well, passed over. Read.

THE DECREE

“In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, on the thirteenth of Hecatombæon, in the presidency of the Pandionian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved:—Whereas Philip hath sent ambassadors for peace, and hath agreed upon articles of treaty, it is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, in order that the peace voted in the first assembly may be ratified, to choose forthwith from the whole body of Athenians five ambassadors; and that the persons elected do repair, without any delay, wheresoever they shall ascertain that Philip is, and as speedily as may be exchange oaths with him, according to the articles agreed on between him and the Athenian people, comprehending the allies of either party. For ambassadors were chosen, Eubulus of Anaphlystus, Æschines of Cothocidæ, Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Democrates of Phlya, Cleon of Cothocidæ.”

Notwithstanding that I had passed this decree for the advantage of Athens, not that of Philip, our worthy ambassadors so little regarded it, as to sit down in Macedonia three whole months, until Philip returned from Thrace after

entirely subjugating the country; although they might in ten days, or rather in three or four, have reached the Hellespont and saved the fortresses, by receiving his oath before he reduced them: for he would never have touched them in our presence, or we should not have sworn him; and thus he would have lost the peace, and not have obtained both, the peace and the fortresses.

Such was the first trick of Philip, the first corrupt act of these accursed miscreants, in the embassy: for which I avow that I was and am and ever will be at war and variance with them. But mark another and still greater piece of villany immediately after. When Philip had sworn to the peace, having secured Thrace through these men disobeying my decree, he again bribes them not to leave Macedonia until he had got all ready for his expedition against the Phocians. His fear was, if they reported to you his design and preparation for marching, you might sally forth, sail round with your galleys to Thermopylæ as before, and block up the strait: his desire, that, the moment you received the intelligence from them, he should have passed Thermopylæ, and you be unable to do anything. And in such terror and anxiety was Philip, lest, notwithstanding he had gained these advantages, if you voted succor before the destruction of the Phocians, his enterprise should fail; he hires this despicable fellow, no longer in common with the other ambassadors, but by himself individually, to make that statement and report to you, by which everything was lost.

I conjure and beseech you, men of Athens, throughout the trial to remember this; that, if Æschines in his charge had not travelled out of the indictment, neither would I have spoken a word irrelevant; but since he has resorted

to every species both of accusation and calumny, it is necessary for me to reply briefly to each of his charges.

What then were the statements made by Æschines, through which everything was lost? That you should not be alarmed by Philip's having passed Thermopylæ—that all would be as you desired, if you kept quiet; and in two or three days you would hear, he was their friend to whom he had come as an enemy, and their enemy to whom he had come as a friend—it was not words that cemented attachments (such was his solemn phrase), but identity of interest; and it was the interest of all alike, Philip, the Phocians, and you, to be relieved from the harshness and insolence of the Thebans. His assertions were heard by some with pleasure, on account of the hatred which then substituted against the Thebans. But what happened directly, almost immediately, afterward? The wretched Phocians were destroyed, their cities demolished; you that kept quiet, and trusted to Æschines, were shortly bringing in your effects out of the country, while Æschines received gold; and yet more—while you got nothing but your enmity with the Thebans and Thessalians, Philip won their gratitude for what he had done. To prove what I say, read me the decree of Callisthenes, and the letter of Philip, from both of which these particulars will be clear to you. Read.

THE DECREE

“In the Archonship of Mnesiphilus, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the Generals, with the sanction of the Presidents and the Council, on the twenty-first of Mæmacterion, Callisthenes, son of Eteonicus of Phalerum, moved: No Athenian shall on any pretence sleep in the country, but all in the city and Piræus, except those

who are stationed in the garrisons; and they shall every one keep the posts assigned to them, without absenting themselves by night or day. Whosoever disobeys this decree, shall be amenable to the penalties of treason, unless he can show that some necessity prevented him: the judges of such necessity shall be the General of Infantry, and he of the Finance Department, and the Secretary of the Council. All effects shall be conveyed out of the country as speedily as may be; those that are within a hundred and twenty furlongs into the city and Piræus, those that are beyond a hundred and twenty furlongs to Eleusis, and Phyle, and Aphidna, and Rhamnus, and Sunium. On the motion of Callisthenes of Phalerum."

Was it with such expectations you concluded the peace? Were such the promises this hireling made you? Come, read the letter which Philip sent after this to Athens.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedonia, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Ye know that we have passed Thermopylæ, and reduced Phocis to submission, and put garrisons in the towns that opened their gates; those that resisted we took by storm, and razed to the ground, enslaving their inhabitants. Hearing, however, that ye are preparing to assist them, I have written unto you, that ye may trouble yourselves no further in the business. For it seems to me, ye are acting altogether unreasonably; having concluded peace, and, nevertheless, taking the field, and that, too, when the Phocians are not comprehended in our treaty. Wherefore, if ye abide not by your engagements, ye will gain no advantage but that of being the aggressors."

You hear how plainly, in his letter to you, he declares and asserts to his own allies—"all this I have done against the will of the Athenians, and in their despite; therefore, if ye are wise, ye Thebans and Thessalians, ye will regard

them as enemies, and put confidence in me"; not writing in such words, but meaning so to be understood. And by these means he carried them away with him, insomuch that they had neither foresight nor sense of the consequences, but suffered him to get everything into his power: hence the misfortunes under which those wretched people at present are. The agent and auxiliary who helped to win for him such confidence—who brought false reports here and cajoled you—he it is who now bewails the sufferings of the Thebans, and dilates upon them so pathetically, he himself being the cause both of these calamities, and those in Phocis, and all the rest which the Greeks have sustained. Truly must you, Æschines, grieve at these events, and compassionate the Thebans, when you hold property in Bœotia and farm their lands; and I rejoice at a work, whose author immediately required me to be delivered into his hands.

But I have fallen upon a subject which it may be more convenient to discuss by and by. I will return then to my proofs, showing how the iniquities of these men have brought about the present state of things.

When you had been deceived by Philip through the agency of these men, who sold themselves in the embassies, and reported not a word of truth to you—when the unhappy Phocians had been deceived and their cities destroyed—what followed? The despicable Thessalians and stupid Thebans looked on Philip as a friend, a benefactor, a savior: he was everything with them—not a syllable would they hear from any one to the contrary. You, though regarding his acts with suspicion and anger, still observed the peace; for you could have done nothing alone. The rest of the Greeks, cheated and disappointed like yourselves, gladly observed the peace, though they also had in a man-

ner been attacked for a long time. For when Philip was marching about, subduing Illyrians and Triballians and some also of the Greeks, and gaining many considerable accessions of power, and certain citizens of the states (*Æschines* among them) took advantage of the peace to go there and be corrupted; all people then, against whom he was making such preparations, were attacked. If they perceived it not, that is another question, no concern of mine. I was forever warning and protesting, both at Athens and wheresoever I was sent. But the states were diseased; one class in their politics and measures being venal and corrupt, while the multitude of private men either had no foresight, or were caught with the bait of present ease and idleness; and all were under some such influence, only they imagined each that the mischief would not approach themselves, but that by the peril of others they might secure their own safety when they chose. The result, I fancy, has been, that the people, in return for their gross and unseasonable indolence, have lost their liberty; the statesmen, who imagined they were selling everything but themselves, discovered they had sold themselves first; for, instead of friends, as they were named during the period of bribery, they are now called parasites, and miscreants, and the like befitting names. Justly. For no man, O Athenians, spends money for the traitor's benefit, or, when he has got possession of his purchase, employs the traitor to advise him in future proceedings; else nothing could have been more fortunate than a traitor. But it is not so—it never could be—it is far otherwise! When the aspirant for power has gained his object, he is master also of those that sold it; and then—then, I say, knowing their baseness, he loathes, and mistrusts, and spurns them.

Consider only—for, though the time of the events is past, the time for understanding them is ever present to the wise: Lasthenes was called the friend of Philip for a while, until he betrayed Olynthus—Timolaus for a while, until he destroyed Thebes—Eudicus and Simus of Larissa for a while, until they brought Thessaly under Philip's power. Since then the world has become full of traitors, expelled, and insulted, and suffering every possible calamity. How fared Aristratus in Sicyon? how Perilaus in Megara? Are they not outcasts? Hence one may evidently see, it is the vigilant defender of his country, the strenuous opponent of such men, who secures to you traitors and hirelings, Æschines, the opportunity of getting bribes: through the number of those that oppose your wishes, you are in safety and in pay; for had it depended on yourselves, you would have perished long ago.

Much more could I say about those transactions, yet methinks too much has been said already. The fault is my adversary's, for having spirited over me the dregs, I may say, of his own wickedness and iniquities, of which I was obliged to clear myself to those who are younger than the events. You too have probably been disgusted who knew this man's venality before I spoke a word. He calls it friendship indeed; and said somewhere in his speech—"the man who reproaches me with the friendship of Alexander." I reproach you with friendship of Alexander! Whence gotten, or how merited? Neither Philip's friend nor Alexander's should I ever call you; I am not so mad; unless we are to call reapers and other hired laborers the friends of those that hire them. That however is not so—how could it be? It is nothing of the kind. Philip's hireling I called you once, and Alexander's

I call you now. So do all these men. If you disbelieve me, ask them; or rather I will do it for you. Athenians! is Æschines, think ye, the hireling, or the friend of Alexander? You hear what they say.

I now proceed to my defence upon the indictment itself, and to the account of my own measures, that Æschines may hear, though he knows already, on what I found my title both to these which have been decreed and to far greater rewards. Take and read me the indictment itself.

THE INDICTMENT

“In the Archonship of Chærondas, on the sixth of Elaphebolion, Æschines, son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ, preferred before the archon an indictment against Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, for an illegal measure: for that he proposed a decree against law, to wit, that it was right to crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown, and to proclaim in the theatre at the great Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies, that the people crown Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with a golden crown, on account of his virtue, and of the goodwill which he has constantly cherished toward all the Greeks as well as toward the people of Athens, and of his integrity, and because he has constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and is zealous to do whatever good he can: all which clauses are false and illegal; the laws enacting, first, that no false allegations shall be entered in the public records; secondly, that an accountable officer shall not be crowned (but Demosthenes is a conservator of the walls, and has charge of the theoric fund); thirdly, that the crown shall not be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival, on the new exhibition of tragedies, but if the council confer a crown, it shall be published in the council-hall, if the people, in the Pnyx at the assembly. Penalty, fifty talents. Witnesses to the summons, Cephisophon,

son of Cephisophon of Rhamnus, Cleon, son of Cleon of Cothocidæ."

The clauses of the decree which he prosecutes are these, men of Athens. Now from these very clauses I think I shall immediately make it clear to you, that my whole defence will be just; for I shall take the charges in the same order as my adversary, and discuss them all one by one, without a single intentional omission.

With respect to the statement, "that I have constantly by word and deed promoted the advantage of the people, and am zealous to do whatever good I can," and the praising me on such grounds, your judgment, I conceive, must depend on my public acts; from an examination of which it will be discovered whether what Ctesiphon has alleged concerning me is true and proper, or false. As to his proposing to give the crown without adding "when he has passed his accounts," and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, I imagine that this also relates to my political conduct, whether I am worthy of the crown and the public proclamation, or not. However, I deem it necessary to produce the laws which justified the defendant in proposing such clauses.

Thus honestly and simply, men of Athens, have I resolved to conduct my defence. I now proceed to my own actual measures. And let no one suppose that I wander from the indictment, if I touch upon Grecian questions and affairs: he who attacks that clause of the decree, "that by word and deed I have promoted your good"—he who has indicted this for being false—he, I say, has rendered the discussion of my whole policy pertinent and necessary to the charge. Moreover, there being many departments of political action, I chose that which belonged to Grecian

affairs: therefore I am justified in drawing my proofs from them.

The conquests which Philip had got and held before I commenced life as a statesman and orator, I shall pass over, as I think they concern not me. Those that he was baffled in from the day of my entering on such duties, I will call to your recollection, and render an account of them; premising one thing only—Philip started, men of Athens, with a great advantage. It happened that among the Greeks—not some, but all alike—there sprang up a crop of traitors and venal wretches, such as in the memory of man had never been before. These he got for his agents and supporters: the Greeks, already ill-disposed and unfriendly to each other, he brought into a still worse state, deceiving this people, making presents to that, corrupting others in every way; and he split them into many parties, when they had all one interest, to prevent his aggrandizement. While the Greeks were all in such a condition—in such ignorance of the gathering and growing mischief—you have to consider, men of Athens, what policy and measures it became the commonwealth to adopt, and of this to receive a reckoning from me; for the man who assumed that post in the administration was I.

Ought she, Æschines, to have cast off her spirit and dignity, and, in the style of Thessalians and Dolopians, helped to acquire for Philip the dominion of Greece, and extinguished the honors and rights of our ancestors? Or, if she did not this—which would indeed have been shameful—was it right that what she saw would happen if unprevented, and was for a long time, it seems, aware of, she should suffer to come to pass?

I would gladly ask the severest censurer of our acts,

with what party he would have wished the commonwealth to side—with those who contributed to the disgraces and disasters of the Greeks, the party, we may say, of the Thessalians and their followers—or those who permitted it all for the hope of selfish advantage, among whom we may reckon the Arcadians, Messenians, and Argives? But many of them, or rather all, have fared worse than ourselves. If Philip after his victory had immediately marched off and kept quiet, without molesting any either of his own allies or of the Greeks in general, still they that opposed not his enterprises would have merited some blame and reproach. But when he has stripped all alike of their dignity, their authority, their liberty—nay, even of their constitutions, where he was able—can it be doubted that you took the most glorious course in pursuance of my counsels?

But I return to the question—What should the commonwealth, Æschines, have done, when she saw Philip establishing an empire and dominion over Greece? Or what was your statesman to advise or move?—I, a statesman at Athens?—for this is most material—I who knew that from the earliest time, until the day of my own mounting the platform, our country had ever striven for precedency and honor and renown, and expended more blood and treasure for the sake of glory and the general weal than the rest of the Greeks had expended on their several interests?—who saw that Philip himself, with whom we were contending, had, in the strife for power and empire, had his eye cut out, his collar-bone fractured, his hand and leg mutilated, and was ready and willing to sacrifice any part of his body that fortune chose to take, provided he could live with the remainder in honor and glory? Hardly will any one

venture to say this—that it became a man bred at Pella, then an obscure and inconsiderable place, to possess such inborn magnanimity, as to aspire to the mastery of Greece and form the project in his mind, while you, who were Athenians, day after day in speeches and in dramas reminded of the virtue of your ancestors, should have been so naturally base, as of your own freewill and accord to surrender to Philip the liberty of Greece. No man will say this!

The only course then that remained was a just resistance to all his attacks upon you. Such course you took from the beginning, properly and becomingly; and I assisted by motions and counsels during the period of my political life—I acknowledge it. But what should I have done? I put this question to you, dismissing all else: Amphipolis, Pydna, Potidæa, Halonnesus—I mention none of them: Serrium, Doriscus, the ravaging of Peparethus, and any similar wrongs which the country has suffered—I know not even of their occurrence. You indeed said, that by talking of these I had brought the people into a quarrel, although the resolutions respecting them were moved by Eubulus and Aristophon and Diopithes—not by me, you ready utterer of what suits your purpose! Neither will I speak of these now. But I ask—the man who was appropriating to himself Eubœa, and making it a fortress against Attica, and attempting Megara, and seizing Oreus, and razing Porthmus, and setting up Philistides as tyrant in Oreus, Clitarchus in Eretria, and subjugating the Hellespont, and besieging Byzantium, and destroying some of the Greek cities, restoring exiles to others—was he by all these proceedings committing injustice, breaking the truce, violating the peace, or not? Was it meet that any of the

Greeks should rise up to prevent these proceedings, or not? If not—if Greece was to present the spectacle (as it is called) of a Mysian prey, while Athenians had life and being, then I have exceeded my duty in speaking on the subject—the commonwealth has exceeded her duty, which followed my counsels—I admit that every measure has been a misdeed, a blunder of mine. But if some one ought to have arisen to prevent these things, who but the Athenian people should it have been? Such then was the policy which I espoused. I saw him reducing all men to subjection, and I opposed him: I continued warning and exhorting you not to make these sacrifices to Philip.

It was he that infringed the peace by taking our ships: it was not the state, *Æschines*. Produce the decrees themselves, and Philip's letter, and read them one after another. From an examination of them, it will be evident who is chargeable with each proceeding. Read.

THE DECREE

“In the Archonship of Neocles, in the month Boedromion, an extraordinary assembly having been convened by the generals, Eubulus, son of Mnesitheus of Cytherus, moved: Whereas the generals have reported in the assembly, that Leodamas the admiral, and the twenty vessels despatched with him to the Hellespont for the safe-conduct of the corn, have been carried to Macedonia by Philip's general Amyntas, and are detained in custody, let the presidents and the generals take care that the council be convened, and ambassadors to Philip be chosen, who shall go and treat with him for the release of the admiral, vessels, and troops: and if Amyntas has acted in ignorance, they shall say that the people make no complaint against him; if the admiral was found wrongfully exceeding his instructions, that the Athenians will make inquiry, and punish

him as his negligence deserves: if it be neither of these things, but a wilful trespass on the part of him who gave or him who received the commission, let them state this also, that the people, being apprised, may deliberate what course to take."

This decree Eubulus carried, not I. The next, Aristophon; then Hegesippus, then Aristophon again, then Philocrates, then Cephisophon, then the rest. I had no concern in the matter. Read the decree.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Neocles, on the last day of Boe-dromion, at the desire of the council, the presidents and generals introduced their report of the proceedings of the assembly; to wit, that the people had resolved to appoint ambassadors to Philip for the recovery of the ships, and to furnish them with instructions and with the decrees of the assembly; and they appointed the following: Cephisophon, son of Cleon of Anaphlystus; Democritus, son of Demophon of Anagyrus; Polycritus, son of Apemantus of Cothocidæ. In the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, on the motion of Aristophon of Colyttus, committee-man."

Now then, as I produce these decrees, so do you, Æschines, point out what decree of my passing makes me chargeable with the war. You cannot find one: had you any, there is nothing you would sooner have produced. Why, even Philip makes no charge against me on account of the war, though he complains of others. Read Philip's own letter.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens, greeting. Your ambassadors, Cephisophon, Democritus and Polycritus, came to me and conferred about the release of the galleys which Laomedon commanded. Upon

the whole, I think you must be very simple, if you imagine I do not see that those galleys were commissioned, under the pretence of conveying corn from the Hellespont to Lemnos, to relieve the Selymbrians, whom I am besieging, and who are not included in the friendly treaty subsisting between us. And these instructions were given, without leave of the Athenian people, by certain magistrates and others who are not now in office, but who are anyways desirous for the people to exchange our present amity for a renewal of war, and are far more anxious for such a consummation than to relieve the Selymbrians. They suppose it will be a source of income to themselves: however, I scarcely think it is for your advantage or mine. Wherefore I release you the vessels carried into my port; and for the future, if, instead of allowing your statesmen to adopt malignant measures, you will punish them, I too will endeavor to maintain the peace. Farewell."

Here is no mention by him of Demosthenes, or any charge against me. Why then, while he complains of the others, makes he no mention of my acts? Because he must have noticed his own aggressions, had he written aught concerning me; for on these I fixed myself—these I kept resisting. And first I proposed the embassy to Peloponnesus, when into Peloponnesus he began to steal; next that to Eubœa, when on Eubœa he was laying his hands; then the expedition (no longer an embassy) to Oreus, and that to Eretria, when he established rulers in those cities. Afterward I despatched all the armaments by which Chersonesus was preserved, and Byzantium, and all our allies; whence to you there accrued the noblest results—praises, eulogies, honors, crowns, thanks from those you succored; while the people attacked—those that trusted you then obtained deliverance, those that disregarded you have had often to remember your warnings,

and to be convinced that you were not only their friends, but wise men also and prophets: for all that you predicted has come to pass.

That Philistides would have given a great deal to keep Oreus—Clitarchus a great deal to keep Eretria—Philip himself a great deal to have these vantage-posts against you, and in other matters to avoid exposure, and any inquiry into his wrongful acts in general—no man is ignorant, and least of all you. For the ambassadors who came here then from Clitarchus and Philistides lodged with you, Æschines, and you were their host. The commonwealth regarded them as enemies, whose offers were neither just nor advantageous, and expelled them; but they was your friends. None of their designs then were accomplished; you slanderer—who say of me, that I am silent when I have got something, and bawl when I have spent it! That is not your custom. You bawl when you have something, and will never stop, unless the jury stop you by disfranchisement to-day.

When you crowned me then for those services, and Aristonicus drew up the same words that Ctesiphon here has now drawn up, and the crown was proclaimed in the theatre—for this now is the second proclamation in my favor—Æschines, being present, neither opposed it, nor indicted the mover. Take this decree now and read it.

THE DECREE

“In the Archonship of Chærondas, son of Hegemon, on the twenty-fifth of Gamelion, in the presidency of the Leontian tribe, Aristonicus of Phrearrii moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, hath rendered many important services to the people of Athens, and to divers of her allies heretofore, and hath also on the present occa-

sion aided them by his decrees, and liberated certain of the cities in Eubœa, and perseveres in his attachment to the people of Athens, and doth by word and deed whatever good he can for the Athenians themselves and the rest of the Greeks: It is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise and a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre at the Dionysian festival at the new tragedies, and the proclamation of the crown shall be given in charge to the presiding tribe and the prize-master. On the motion of Aristonicus of Phrearrii."

Is there one of you that knows of any disgrace falling on the state by reason of this decree, or any scorn or ridicule—consequences which this man now predicts, if I am crowned? It is when acts are recent and notorious that, if good, they obtain reward, if the contrary, punishment; and it appears that I then obtained reward, not blame or punishment. So, up to the period of those transactions, I am acknowledged on all occasions to have promoted the interests of the state—because my speeches and motions prevailed in your councils—because my measures were executed, and procured crowns for the commonwealth and for me and all of you—because you have offered sacrifices and thanksgivings to the gods for their success.

When Philip therefore was driven out of Eubœa, with arms by you, with counsels and decrees—though some persons there should burst!—by me, he sought some new position of attack on Athens. Seeing that we use more foreign corn than any people, and wishing to command the passage of the corn-trade, he advanced to Thrace; the Byzantines being his allies, he first required them to join in the war against you, and when they refused, saying (truly enough) that they had not made alliance on such

terms, he threw up intrenchments before the city, planted batteries, and laid siege to it. What course hereupon it became you to take, I will not ask again; it is manifest to all. But who was it that succored the Byzantines, and rescued them? who prevented the alienation of the Hellespont at that crisis? You, men of Athens. When I say you, I mean the commonwealth. But who advised, framed, executed the measures of state, devoted himself wholly and unreservedly to the public business?—I!—What benefits thence accrued to all, you need no further to be told; you have learned by experience. For the war which then sprang up, besides that it brought honor and renown, kept you in a cheaper and more plentiful supply of all the necessities of life than does the present peace, which these worthies maintain to their country's prejudice in the hope of something to come. Perish such hope! Never may they share the blessings for which you men of honest wishes pray to the gods, nor communicate their own principles to you!

Read them now the crowns of the Byzantines, and those of the Perinthians, which they conferred upon the country as a reward.

THE BYZANTINE DECREE

“In the Presbytership of Bosporichus, Damagetus moved in the assembly, having obtained permission of the Council: Whereas the people of Athens have ever in former times been friendly to the Byzantines and their allies, and to their kinsmen the Perinthians, and have rendered them many signal services, and also on the present occasion, when Philip of Macedon attempted by invasion and siege to exterminate the Byzantines and Perinthians, and burned and ravaged their country, they succored us with a hundred and twenty ships and provisions and weap-

ons and soldiers, and rescued us from grievous perils, and preserved our hereditary constitution, our laws, and our sepulchres: it is resolved by the people of Byzantium and Perinthus to grant unto the Athenians the right of inter-marriage, citizenship, purchase of land and houses, the first seat at the games, first admission to the Council and People after the sacrifices, and exemption from all public services to such as wish to reside in the city: and that three statues of sixteen cubits be erected in the harbor, representing the People of Athens crowned by the People of Byzantium and Perinthus: and deputations sent to the general assemblies of Greece, the Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian, and Pythian, to proclaim the crowns wherewith the people of Athens hath been honored by us, that all the Greeks may know the virtue of the Athenians, and the gratitude of the Byzantines and Perinthians."

Now read the crowns given by the people of Chersonesus.

THE DECREE OF THE CHERSONESITES

"The Chersonesites, inhabitants of Sestus, Eleus, Madytus, and Alopeconnesus, crown the Council and People of Athens with a golden crown of the value of sixty talents, and build an altar to Gratitude and the Athenian People, because that People hath helped the Chersonesites to obtain the greatest of blessings, by rescuing them from the power of Philip, and restoring their country, their laws, their liberty, their sanctuaries: and in all future time they will not fail to be grateful, and do what service they can. Decreed in general Council."

Thus the saving of Chersonesus and Byzantium, the preventing Philip's conquest of the Hellespont, and the honors therefore bestowed on this country, were the effects of my policy and administration; and more than this—they proved to all mankind the generosity of Athens and the baseness of Philip. He, the ally and friend of the Byzantines, was be-

fore all eyes besieging them—what could be more shameful or outrageous?—You, who might justly on many grounds have reproached them for wrongs done you in former times, instead of bearing malice and abandoning the oppressed, appeared as their deliverers; conduct which procured you glory, goodwill, honor from all men. That you have crowned many of your statesmen, every one knows; but through what other person (I mean what minister or orator), besides myself, the commonwealth has been crowned, no one can say.

To prove now the malignity of those calumnies, which he urged against the Eubœans and Byzantines, reminding you of any unkindness which they had done you—prove it I shall, not only by their falsehood, which I apprehend you know already, but (were they ever so true) by showing the advantages of my policy—I wish to recount one or two of the noble acts of your own state, and to do it briefly; for individuals, as well as communities, should ever strive to model their future conduct by the noblest of their past.

Well then, men of Athens—when the Lacedæmonians had the empire of land and sea, and held the country round Attica by governors and garrisons, Eubœa, Tanagra, all Bœotia, Megara, Ægina, Cleonæ, the other islands; when our state possessed neither ships nor walls; you marched out to Haliartus, and again not many days after to Corinth; albeit the Athenians of that time had many causes of resentment against both Corinthians and Thebans for their acts in the Decelean war: but they showed no resentment, none. And yet neither of these steps took they, Æschines, for benefactors, nor were they blind to the danger; but they would not for such reasons abandon people who sought their protection; for the sake of renown and glory they

willingly exposed themselves to peril; just and noble was their resolve! For to all mankind the end of life is death, though one keep one's self shut up in a closet; but it becomes brave men to strive always for honor, with good hope before them, and to endure courageously whatever the Deity ordains.

Thus did your ancestors, thus the elder among yourselves. For, though the Lacedæmonians were neither friends nor benefactors, but had done many grievous injuries to our state, yet when the Thebans, victorious at Leuctra, sought their destruction, you prevented it, not fearing the power and reputation then possessed by the Thebans, nor reckoning up the merits of those whom you were about to fight for. And so you demonstrated to all the Greeks, that, however any people may offend you, you reserve your anger against them for other occasions; but should their existence or liberty be imperilled, you will not resent your wrongs or bring them into account.

And not in these instances only hath such been your temper. Again, when the Thebans were taking possession of Eubœa, you looked not quietly on—you remembered not the wrongs done you by Themison and Theodorus in the affair of Oropus, but assisted even them. It was the time when the volunteer captains first offered themselves to the state, of whom I was one;—but of this presently. However, it was glorious that you saved the island, but far more glorious that, when you had got their persons and their cities in your power, you fairly restored them to people who had ill-used you, and made no reckoning of your wrongs in an affair where you were trusted.

Hundreds of cases which I could mention I pass over—sea-fights, land-marches, campaigns, both in ancient times

and in your own, all of which the commonwealth has undertaken for the freedom and safety of the Greeks in general. Then, having observed the commonwealth engaging in contests of such number and importance for the interests of others, what was I to urge, what course to recommend her, when the question in a manner concerned herself?—To revive grudges, I suppose, against people who wanted help, and to seek pretences for abandoning everything. And who might not justly have killed me, had I attempted even by words to tarnish any of the honors of Athens? For the thing itself, I am certain, you would never have done—had you wished, what was to hinder you?—any lack of opportunity?—had you not these men to advise it?

I must return to the next in date of my political acts; and here again consider what was most beneficial for the state. I saw, men of Athens, that your navy was decaying, and that, while the rich were getting off with small payments, citizens of moderate or small fortunes were losing their substance, and the state, by reason thereof, missing her opportunities of action. I therefore proposed a law, by which I compelled the one class (the rich) to perform their duty, and stopped the oppression of the poor; and—what was most useful to the country—I caused her preparations to be made in time. And being indicted for it, I appeared on the charge before you, and was acquitted; and the prosecutor did not get his portion of the votes. But what sums, think ye, the chief men of the Boards, or those in the second and third degrees, offered me, first, not to propose that law, secondly, when I had recorded it, to drop it on the abatement-oath? Such sums, men of Athens, as I should be afraid to tell you. And no wonder they did

so; for under the former laws they might divide the charge between sixteen, spending little or nothing themselves, and grinding down the needy citizens; whereas under my law every one had to pay a sum proportioned to his means, and there was a captain for two ships, where before there was a partner with fifteen others for one ship; for they were calling themselves not captains any longer, but partners. They would have given anything then to get these regulations annulled, and not be obliged to perform their duties. Read me, first, the decree for which I appeared to the indictment, then the service-rolls, that of the former law, and that under mine. Read.

THE DECREE

“In the Archonship of Polycles, on the sixteenth of Boedromion, in the presidency of the Hippothoontian tribe, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, introduced a law for the naval service, instead of the former one under which there were the associations of joint-captains; and it was passed by the council and people. And Patrocles of Phlyus preferred an indictment against Demosthenes for an illegal measure, and, not having obtained his share of the votes, paid the penalty of five hundred drachms.”

Now produce that fine roll.

THE ROLL

“Let sixteen captains be called out for every galley, as they are associated in the companies, from the age of twenty-five to forty, defraying the charge equally.”

Now for the roll under my law.

THE ROLL

“Let captains be chosen according to their property by valuation, taking ten talents to a galley; if the property

be valued at a higher sum, let the charge be proportionate. as far as three ships and a tender; and let it be in the same proportion for those whose property is less than ten talents, joining them in a partnership to make up ten talents."

Think ye I but slightly helped the poor of Athens, or that the rich would have spent but a trifling sum to escape the doing what was right? I glory, however, not only in having refused this compromise, and having been acquitted on the indictment, but because my law was beneficial, and I have proved it so by trial. For during the whole war, while the armaments were shipped off according to my regulations, no captain ever appealed to you against oppression, or took sanctuary at Munychia, or was imprisoned by the clearing-officers; no galley was lost to the state by capture abroad, or left behind from unfitness to go to sea. Under the former laws all these things happened—because the burden was put upon the poor, and therefore difficulties frequently arose. I transferred the charge from the poor to the wealthy, and then every duty was done. For this itself, too, I deserve praise, that I adopted all such measures as brought glory and honor and power to the state: there is no envy, spite, or malice in any measure of mine, nothing sordid or unworthy of Athens. The same character is apparent in my home and in my foreign policy. At home, I never preferred the favor of the wealthy to the rights of the many: abroad, I valued not the presents or the friendship of Philip above the general interests of Greece.

I conceive it remains for me to speak of the proclamation and the accounts: for, that I acted for the best—that I have throughout been your friend and zealous in your service—is proved abundantly, methinks, by what I have

said already. The most important part of my policy and administration I pass by, considering that I have in regular course to reply to the charge of illegality; and besides—though I am silent as to the rest of my political acts—the knowledge you all have will serve me equally well.

As to the arguments which he jumbled together about the counter-written laws, I hardly suppose you comprehend them—I myself could not understand the greater part. However I shall argue a just case in a straightforward way. So far from saying that I am not accountable, as the prosecutor just now falsely asserted, I acknowledge that I am all my life accountable for what as your statesman I have undertaken or advised; but for what I have voluntarily given to the people out of my own private fortune, I deny that I am any day accountable—do you hear, Æschines?—nor is any other man, let him even be one of the nine archons. For what law is so full of injustice and inhumanity as to enact, that one who has given of his private means, and done an act of generosity and munificence, instead of having thanks, shall be brought before malignants, appointed to be the auditors of his liberality? None. If he says there is, let him produce it, and I will be content and hold my tongue. But there is none, men of Athens. The prosecutor in his malice, because I gave some of my own money when I superintended the theatre fund, says—“the Council praised him before he had rendered his account.” Not for any matters of which I had an account to render, but for what I spent of my own, you malignant!

“Oh, but you were a Conservator of Walls!” says he. Yes; and for that reason was I justly praised, because I gave the sums expended and did not charge them. A

charge requires auditing and examiners; a donation merits thanks and praise: therefore the defendant made this motion in my favor.

That this is a settled principle in your hearts as well as in the laws, I can show by many proofs easily. First, Nausicles has often been crowned by you for what he expended out of his own funds while he was general. Secondly, Diotimus was crowned for his present of shields; and Charidemus too. Again Neoptolemus here, superintendant of divers works, has been honored for his donations. It would indeed be cruel, if a man holding an office should either, by reason of his office, be precluded from giving his own money to the state, or have, instead of receiving thanks, to render an account of what he gave. To prove the truth of my statements, take and read me the original decrees made in favor of these men.

A DECREE

"Archon, Demonicus of Phlyus. On the twenty-sixth of Boedromion, with the sanction of the council and people, Callias of Phrearrii moved: That the council and people resolve to crown Nausicles, general of foot, for that, there being two thousand Athenian troops of the line in Imbrus, for the defence of the Athenian residents in that island, and Philo of the finance department being by reason of storms unable to sail and pay the troops, he advanced money of his own, and did not ask the people for it again; and that the crown be proclaimed at the Dionysian festival, at the new tragedies."

ANOTHER DECREE

"Callias of Phrearrii moved, the presidents declaring it to be with the sanction of the council: Whereas Charidemus, general of foot, having been sent to Salamis, he and Diotimus, general of horse, after certain of the troops had

in the skirmish by the river been disarmed by the enemy, did at their own expense arm the young men with eight hundred shields: It hath been resolved by the council and people to crown Charidemus and Diotimus with a golden crown, and to proclaim it at the great Panathenaic festival, during the gymnastic contest, and at the Dionysian festival, at the exhibition of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the judges, the presidents, and the prize-masters."

Each of these men, Æschines, was accountable for the office which he held, but not accountable for the matters in respect of which he was crowned. No more than am I; for surely I have the same rights, under the same circumstances, as other men. Have I given money? I am praised for that, not being accountable for what I gave. Did I hold office? Yes; and I have rendered an account of my official acts, not of my bounties. Oh, but I was guilty of malpractices in office! And you, present when the auditors brought me up, accused me not?

To show you that he himself bears testimony to my having been crowned for what I had no account to render of, take and read the whole decree drawn up in my favor. By the portions of the bill which he never indicted it will appear that his prosecution is vexatious. Read.

THE DECREE

"In the Archonship of Euthycles, on the twenty-second of Pyanepsion, in the presidency of the Ceneian tribe, Ctesiphon, son of Leosthenes of Anaphlystus, moved: Whereas Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, having been superintendent of the repair of the walls, and having expended on the works three additional talents out of his own money, hath given that sum to the people; and whereas, having been appointed treasurer of the theoric fund, he hath

given to the theoric officers of the tribes a hundred minas toward the sacrifices, the council and people of Athens have resolved to honor Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, with public praise, for the goodness and generosity which he has shown throughout on every occasion toward the people of Athens, and to crown him with a golden crown, and to proclaim the crown in the theatre, at the Dionysian festival, at the performance of the new tragedies: the proclamation to be given in charge to the prize-master."

These were my donations; none of which have you indicted: the rewards which the council says I deserve for them are what you arraign. To receive the gifts then you confess to be legal; the requital of them you indict for illegality. In the name of Heaven! what sort of person can a monster of wickedness and malignity be, if not such a person as this?

Concerning the proclamation in the theatre, I pass over the fact, that thousands of thousands have been proclaimed, and I myself have been crowned often before. But by the gods! are you so perverse and stupid, Æschines, as not to be able to reflect, that the party crowned has the same glory from the crown wherever it be published, and that the proclamation is made in the theatre for the benefit of those who confer the crown? For the hearers are all encouraged to render service to the state, and praise the parties who show their gratitude more than the party crowned. Therefore has our commonwealth enacted this law. Take and read me the law itself.

THE LAW

"Whosoever any of the townships bestow crowns, proclamations thereof shall be made by them in their several townships, unless where any are crowned by the people of

Athens or the council; and it shall be lawful for them to be proclaimed in the theatre at the Dionysian festival."

Do you hear, Æschines, the law distinctly saying—"unless where any are voted by the people or the council; such may be proclaimed"? Why then, wretched man, do you play the pettifogger? Why manufacture arguments? Why don't you take hellebore for your malady? Are you not ashamed to bring on a cause for spite, and not for any offence?—to alter some laws, and to garble others, the whole of which should in justice be read to persons sworn to decide according to the laws? And you that act thus describe the qualities which belong to a friend of the people, as if you had ordered a statue according to contract, and received it without having what the contract required; or as if friends of the people were known by words, and not by acts and measures. And you bawl out, regardless of decency, a sort of cart-language, applicable to yourself and your race, not to me.

Again, men of Athens—I conceive abuse to differ from accusation in this, that accusation has to do with offences for which the laws provide penalties, abuse with scandal which enemies speak against each other according to their humor. And I believe our ancestors built these courts, not that we should assemble you here and bring forth the secrets of private life for mutual reproach, but to give us the means of convicting persons guilty of crimes against the state. Æschines knew this as well as I, and yet he chose to rail rather than to accuse.

Even in this way he must take as much as he gives; but before I enter upon such matters, let me ask him one question—Should one call you the state's enemy, or mine, Æschines? Mine, of course. Yet, where you might, for

any offence which I committed, have obtained satisfaction for the people according to the laws, you neglected it—at the audit, on the indictments and other trials; but where I in my own person am safe on every account, by the laws, by time, by prescription, by many previous judgments on every point, by my never having been convicted of a public offence—and where the country must share, more or less, in the repute of measures which were her own—here it is you have encountered me. See if you are not the people's enemy, while you pretend to be mine!

Since therefore the righteous and true verdict is made clear to all; but I must, it seems—though not naturally fond of railing, yet on account of the calumnies uttered by my opponent—in reply to so many falsehoods, just mention some leading particulars concerning him, and show who he is, and from whom descended, that so readily begins using hard words—and what language he carps at, after uttering such as any decent man would have shuddered to pronounce—Why, if my accuser had been *Æacus*, or *Rhadamanthus*, or *Minos*, instead of a prater, a hack of the market, a pestilent scribbler, I don't think he would have spoken such things, or found such offensive terms, shouting, as in a tragedy, "O Earth! O Sun! O Virtue!" and the like; and again appealing to Intelligence and Education, by which the honorable is distinguished from the base:—all this you undoubtedly heard from his lips. Accursed one! What have you or yours to do with virtue? How should you discern what is honorable or otherwise? How were you ever qualified? What right have you to talk about education? Those who really possess it would never say as much of themselves, but rather blush if another did: those who are destitute like you, but make pretensions to it from

stupidity, annoy the hearers by their talk, without getting the reputation which they desire.

I am at no loss for materials concerning you and your family, but am in doubt what to mention first—whether how your father Tromes, being servant to Elpias, who kept a reading-school in the temple of Theseus, wore a weight of fetters and a collar; or how your mother, by her morning spousals in the cottage by Hero Calamites, reared up you, the beautiful statue, the eminent third-rate actor!—But all know these things without my telling—Or how the galley-piper Phormio, the slave of Dion of Phrearrii, removed her from that honorable employment. But, by Jupiter and the gods! I fear, in saying what is proper about you, I may be thought to have chosen topics unbecoming to myself. All this therefore I shall pass by, and commence with the acts of his own life; for indeed he came not of common parents, but of such as are execrated by the people. Very lately—lately do I say?—it is but yesterday that he has become both an Athenian and an orator—adding two syllables, he converted his father from Tromes to Atrometus, and dignified his mother by the name of Glaucoshea, who (as every one knows) was called Empusa; having got that title (it is plain) from her doing and submitting to anything—how else could she have got it? However, you are so ungrateful and wicked by nature, that after being raised through the people from servitude to freedom, from beggary to affluence, instead of returning their kindness, you work against them as a hireling politician.

Of the speeches, which it may possibly be contended he has made for the good of the country, I will say nothing: of the acts which he was clearly proved to have done for the enemy, I will remind you.

What man present but knows of the outcast Antiphon, who came into the city under promise to Philip that he would burn your arsenal? I found him concealed in Piræus, and brought him before the assembly; when this mischief-maker, shouting and clamoring that it was monstrous in a free state that I should ill-treat unfortunate citizens, and enter houses without warrant, procured his release. And had not the Council of Areopagus, discovering the fact and perceiving your illtimed error, made search after the man, seized and brought him before you, a fellow like that would have been rescued, would have slipped through the hands of justice, and been sent out of the way by this declaimer. As it was, you put him to torture and to death, as you ought this man also. The Council of Areopagus were informed what Æschines had done, and therefore, though you had elected him for your advocate on the question of the Delian temple, in the same ignorance by which you have sacrificed many of the public interests, as you referred the matter to the council, and gave them full powers, they immediately removed him for his treason, and appointed Hyperides to plead; for which purpose they took their ballots from the altar, and not a single ballot was given for this wretch. To prove the truth of my statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

"We, Callias of Sunium, Zenon of Phlyus, Cleon of Phalerum, Demonicus of Marathon, testify for Demosthenes in the name of all, that, the people having formerly elected Æschines for their advocate before the Amphictyons on the question of the Delian temple, we in council determined that Hyperides was more worthy to plead on behalf of the state, and Hyperides was commissioned."

Thus, by removing this man when he was about to plead, and appointing another, the council pronounced him a traitor and an enemy.

Such is one of this boy's¹ political acts, similar—is it not?—to what he charges me with. Now let me remind you of another. When Philip sent Python of Byzantium, together with an embassy from all his own allies, with the intention of putting our commonwealth to shame, and proving her in the wrong, then—when Python swaggered and poured a flood of abuse upon you—I neither yielded nor gave way; I rose and answered him, and betrayed not the rights of the commonwealth. So plainly did I convict Philip of injustice, that his very allies rose up and acknowledged it; while Æschines fought his battle, and bore witness, aye, false witness, against his own country.

Nor was this enough. Again, some time afterward, he was found meeting Anaxinus the spy at Thraso's house. A man, I say, who had a private meeting and conference with an emissary of the foe must himself have been a spy by nature and an enemy to his country. To prove these statements, call me the witnesses.

WITNESSES

“Teledemus son of Cleon, Hyperides son of Callæschrus, Nicomachus son of Diophrantus, testify for Demosthenes, as they swore before the generals, that Æschines son of Atrometus of Cothocidæ did, to their knowledge, meet by night in Thraso's house, and confer with Anaxinus, who was adjudged to be a spy of Philip. These depositions were returned before Nicias, on the third of Hecatombæon.”

A vast deal besides that I could say about him I omit. For thus (methinks) it is. I could produce many more

¹ It means “a fine fellow,” as we say ironically.

such cases where Æschines was discovered at that period assisting the enemy and harassing me. But these things are not treasured up by you for careful remembrance or proper resentment. You have, through evil custom, given large license to any one that chooses to supplant and calumniate your honest counsellors, exchanging the interest of the state for the pleasure and gratification of hearing abuse; and so it is easier and safer always to be a hireling serving your enemies than a statesman attached to you.

That he should co-operate openly with Philip before the war, was shocking—O heaven and earth! could it be otherwise?—against his country! Yet allow him if you please, allow him this. But when the ships had openly been made prize, Chersonesus was ravaged, the man was marching against Attica, matters were no longer doubtful, war had begun—nothing that he ever did for you can this malicious iambic-mouthier show—not a resolution has Æschines, great or small, concerning the interests of the state. If he asserts it, let him prove it now while my waterglass is running. But there is none. He is reduced to an alternative—either he had no fault to find with my measures, and therefore moved none against them; or he sought the good of the enemy, and therefore would not propose any better.

Did he abstain from speaking as well as moving when any mischief was to be done to you? Why, no one else could speak a word. Other things, it appears, the country could endure, and he could accomplish without detection; but one last act he achieved, O Athenians, which crowned all he had done before; on which he lavished that multitude of words, recounting the decrees against the Amphisian Locrians, in hopes of distorting the truth. But the thing

admits it not. No! never will you wash yourself clean from your performances there—talk as long as you will!

In your presence, men of Athens, I invoke all the gods and goddesses to whom the Attic territory belongs, and Pythian Apollo the father-god of our state; and I implore them all! As I shall declare the truth to you, as I declared it in your assembly at the time, the very moment I saw this wretch putting his hand to the work—for I perceived, instantly perceived it—so may they grant me favor and protection! If from malice or personal rivalry I bring a false charge against my opponent, may they cut me off from every blessing!

But wherefore this imprecation, this solemn assurance? Because, though I have documents lying in the public archives, from which I shall clearly prove my assertions, though I know you remember the facts, I fear this man may be considered unequal to the mischiefs which he has wrought; as before happened, when he caused the destruction of the unhappy Phocians by his false reports to you.

The Amphissian war, I say—which brought Philip to Elatea, which caused him to be chosen general of the Amphictyons, which ruined everything in Greece—was this man's contrivance. He is the single author of all our heaviest calamities. I protested at the time, and cried out in the assembly—"You are bringing a war, Æschines, into Attica, an Amphictyonic war"—but his packed party would not let me be heard; the rest wondered, and supposed that I was bringing an idle charge against him out of personal enmity. However, the real character of those transactions, the purpose for which they were got up, the manner in which they were accomplished, hear ye now, men of Athens, as ye were prevented then. You will see that

the thing was well concerted, and it will help you much to get a knowledge of public affairs, and what craftiness there was in Philip you will observe.

Philip could neither finish nor get rid of the war with Athens, unless he made the Thebans and Thessalians her enemies. Though your generals fought against him without fortune or skill, yet from the war itself and the cruisers he suffered infinite damage. He could neither export any of the produce of his country, nor import what he needed. He was not then superior to you at sea, nor able to reach Attica, unless the Thessalians followed him and the Thebans gave him a passage; so that, while he overcame in war the generals whom you sent out—such as they were—I say nothing about that—he found himself distressed by the difference of your local position and means. Should he urge either Thessalians or Thebans to march in his own quarrel against you, none, he thought, would attend to him: but should he, under the pretence of taking up their common cause, be elected general, he trusted partly by deceit and partly by persuasion to gain his ends more easily. He sets to work therefore—observe how cleverly—to get the Amphictyons into a war, and create a disturbance in the congress. For this he thought they would immediately want him. Now, if any of the presbyters commissioned by himself or any of his allies brought it forward, he imagined that both Thebans and Thessalians would suspect the thing, and would all be on their guard; whereas, if the agent were an Athenian and commissioned by you his opponents, it would easily pass unnoticed. And thus it turned out.

How did he effect his purpose? He hires the prosecutor. No one (I believe) was aware of the thing of attend-

ing to it, and so—just as these things are usually done at Athens—Æschines was proposed for Pylæan deputy, three or four held up their hands for him, and his election was declared. When clothed with the dignity of the state he arrived among the Amphictyons, dismissing and disregarding all besides, he hastened to execute what he was hired for. He makes up a pretty speech and story, showing how the Cirrhæan plain came to be consecrated; reciting this to the presbyters, men unused to speeches and unsuspicious of any consequences, he procures a vote from them to walk round the district, which the Amphissians maintained they had a right to cultivate, but which he charged to be parcel of the sacred plain. The Locrians were not then instituting any suit against us, or any such proceeding as Æschines now falsely alleges. This will show you—It was impossible (I fancy) for the Locrians to carry on process against our commonwealth without a citation. Who summoned us then? In whose archonship? Say who knows—point him out. You cannot. Your pretence was flimsy and false.

When the Amphictyons, at the instance of this man, walked over the plain, the Locrians fell upon them and wellnigh speared them all; some of the presbyters they carried off captive. Complaints having followed, and war being stirred up against the Amphissians, at first Cottyphus led an army composed entirely of Amphictyons; but as some never came, and those that came did nothing, measures were taken against the ensuing congress by an instructed gang, the old traitors of Thessaly and other states, to get the command for Philip. And they had found a fair pretext: for it was necessary, they said, either to subsidize themselves and maintain a mercenary force and fine all recusants, or to elect him. What need of many words?

He was thereupon chosen general; and immediately afterward collecting an army, and marching professedly against Cirrha, he bids a long farewell to the Cirrhæans and Locrians, and seizes Elatea. Had not the Thebans, upon seeing this, immediately changed their minds and sided with us, the whole thing would have fallen like a torrent upon our country. As it was, they for the instant stopped him; chiefly, O Athenians, by the kindness of some divinity to Athens, but secondly, as far as it could depend on a single man, through me. Give me those decrees, and the dates of the several transactions, that you may know what mischiefs this pestilent creature has stirred up with impunity. Read me the decrees.

THE DECREE OF THE AMPHICTYONS

“In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councillors of the Amphictyons, and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the Amphiſſians trespass upon the sacred plain and sow and depasture it with cattle, that the deputies and councillors do enter thereupon and define the boundaries with pillars, and enjoin the Amphiſſians not to trespass for the future.”

ANOTHER DECREE

“In the priesthood of Clinagoras, at the spring congress, it hath been resolved by the deputies and councillors of the Amphictyons and by the assembly of the Amphictyons, seeing that the people of Amphiſſa have partitioned among themselves the sacred plain and cultivate and feed cattle upon the same, and on being interrupted have come in arms, and with force resisted the general council of the Greeks, and have wounded some of them: that Cottyphus the Arcadian, who hath been elected general of the Amphictyons, be sent ambassador to Philip of Macedon, and do request him to come to the aid of Apollo and the

Amphictyons, that he may not suffer the god to be insulted by the impious Amphissians; and do announce that the Greeks who are members of the Amphictyonic Council appoint him general with absolute powers."

Now read the dates of these transactions. They correspond with the time when Æschines was deputy. Read.

DATES

"Mnesithides archon, on the sixteenth of the month Anthesterion."

Now give me the letter which, when the Thebans would not hearken to Philip, he sends to his allies in Peloponnesus, that you may plainly see, even from this, how the true motives of his enterprise, his designs against Greece and the Thebans and yourselves, were concealed by him, while he affected to be taking measures for the common good under a decree of the Amphictyons. The man who furnished him with these handles and pretexts was Æschines. Read.

THE LETTER OF PHILIP

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the magistrates and councillors of the confederate Peloponnesians and to all the other allies greeting: Whereas the Locrians surnamed Ozolian, dwelling in Amphissa, commit sacrilege against the temple of Apollo at Delphi, and coming with arms despoil the sacred plain, I propose with your assistance to avenge the god, and to chastise people who violate any part of our recognized religion. Wherefore meet me with arms in Phocis, bringing provisions for forty days, in the ensuing month of Lous, as we style it, Boedromion, as the Athenians, Panemus, as the Corinthians. Those who do not meet us with all their forces, we shall visit with punishment. Farewell."

You see, he avoids all private pleas, and has recourse to an Amphictyonic. Who was it, I say, that helped him to this contrivance—that lent him these excuses? Who is most to blame for the misfortunes which have happened? Surely Æschines. Then go not about saying, O Athenians, that one man has inflicted these calamities on Greece. Heaven and earth! It was not a single man, but a number of miscreants in every state. Æschines was one of them; and, were I obliged to speak the truth without reserve, I should not hesitate to call him the common pest of all that have since been ruined, men, places, cities: for whoever supplies the seed, to him the crop is owing. I marvel, indeed, you turned not your faces away the moment you beheld him. But there is a thick darkness, it seems, between you and the truth.

The mention of this man's treasonable acts brings me to the part which I have myself taken in opposition to him. It is fair you should hear my account of it for many reasons, but chiefly, men of Athens, because it would be a shame, when I have undergone the toil of exertions on your behalf, that you should not endure the bare recital of them.

When I saw that the Thebans, and I may add the Athenians, were so led away by Philip's partisans and the corrupt men of either state, as to disregard and take no precaution against a danger which menaced both, and required the utmost precaution (I mean the suffering Philip's power to increase), and were readily disposed to enmity and strife with each other; I was constantly watchful to prevent it, not only because in my own judgment I deemed such vigilance expedient, but knowing that Aristophon, and Eubulus, had all along desired to bring about that union, and, while they were frequently opposed upon

other matters, were always agreed upon this. Men whom in their lifetime—you reptile!—you pestered with flattery, yet see not that you are accusing them in their graves: for the Theban policy that you reproach me with is a charge less affecting me than them, who approved that alliance before I did. But I must return.—I say, when Æschines had excited the war in Amphissa, and his coadjutors had helped to establish enmity with Thebes, Philip marched against us—that was the object for which these persons embroiled the states—and had we not roused up a little in time, we could never have recovered ourselves: so far had these men carried matters. In what position you then stood to each other you will learn from the recital of these decrees and answers. Here, take and read them.

DECREE

“In the Archonship of Heropythus, on the twenty-fifth of the month Elaphebolion, in the presidency of the Erechtheian tribe, by the advice of the Council and the Generals: Whereas Philip hath taken possession of certain neighboring cities, and is besieging others, and finally is preparing to advance against Attica, setting our treaty at naught, and designs to break his oaths and the peace, in violation of our common engagements: The Council and People have resolved to send unto him ambassadors, who shall confer with him, and exhort him above all to maintain his relations of amity with us and his convention, or if not, to give time to the Commonwealth for deliberation, and conclude an armistice until the month Thargelion. These have been chosen from the Council: Simus of Anagyrus, Euthydemus of Phylus, Bulgoras of Alopee.”

ANOTHER DECREE

“In the Archonship of Heropythus, on the last day of the month Munychion, by the advice of the Polemarch:

Whereas Philip designs to put the Thebans at variance with us, and hath prepared to advance with his whole army to the places nearest to Attica, violating the engagements that subsist between us, the Council and People have resolved to send unto him a herald and ambassadors, who shall request and call upon him to conclude an armistice, so that the people may take measures according to circumstances; for now they do not purpose to march out in the event of anything reasonable. Nearchus, son of Sosinomus, and Polycrates, son of Epiphron, have been chosen from the Council; and for herald, Eunomus of Anaphlystus from the People."

Now read the answers:

THE ANSWER TO THE ATHENIANS

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Athens greeting: Of the part which you have taken in reference to me from the beginning I am not ignorant, nor what exertions you are making to gain over the Thessalians and Thebans, and also the Bœotians. Since they are more prudent, and will not submit their choice to your dictation, but stand by their own interest, you shift your ground, and sending ambassadors and a herald to me, you talk of engagements and ask for an armistice, although I have given you no offence. However, I have given audience to your ambassadors, and I agree to your request and am ready to conclude an armistice, if you will dismiss your evil counsellors and degrade them as they deserve. Farewell."

THE ANSWER TO THE THEBANS

"Philip, king of Macedon, to the Council and People of Thebes greeting: I have received your letter, wherein you renew peace and amity with me. I am informed, however, that the Athenians are most earnestly soliciting you to accept their overtures. I blamed you at first for being inclined to put faith in their promises and to espouse their policy. But

since I have discovered that you would rather maintain peace with me than follow the counsels of others, I praise you the more on divers accounts, but chiefly because you have consulted in this business for your safety, and preserve your attachment to me, which I trust will be of no small moment to you, if you persevere in that determination. Farewell."

Philip having thus disposed the states toward each other by his contrivances, and being elated by these decrees and answers, came with his army and seized Elatea, confident that, happen what might, you and the Thebans could never again unite. What commotion there was in the city you all know; but let me just mention the most striking circumstances.

It was evening. A person came with a message to the presidents that Elatea was taken. They rose from supper immediately, drove off the people from their market-stalls, and set fire to the wicker-frames; others sent for the generals and called the trumpeter; and the city was full of commotion. The next morning at daybreak the presidents summoned the council to their hall, and you went to the assembly, and before they could introduce or prepare the question, the whole people were up in their seats. When the council had entered, and the presidents had reported their intelligence and presented the courier, and he had made his statement, the crier asked—"Who wishes to speak?"—and no one came forward. The crier put the question repeatedly—still no man rose, though all the generals were present and all the orators, and our country with her common voice called for some one to speak and save her—for when the crier raises his voice according to law, it may justly be deemed the common voice of our country. If those who desired the salvation of Athens were the proper

parties to come forward, all of you and the other Athenians would have risen and mounted the platform; for I am sure you all desired her salvation—if those of greatest wealth, the three-hundred—if those who were both, friendly to the state and wealthy, the men who afterward gave such ample donations; for patriotism and wealth produced the gift. But that occasion, that day, as it seems, called not only for a patriot and a wealthy man, but for one who had closely followed the proceedings from their commencement, and rightly calculated for what object and purpose Philip carried them on. A man who was ignorant of these matters, or had not long and carefully studied them, let him be ever so patriotic or wealthy, would neither see what measures were needful, nor be competent to advise you.

Well, then—I was the man called for upon that day. I came forward and addressed you. What I said, I beg you for two reasons attentively to hear—first, to be convinced that of all your orators and statesmen I alone deserted not the patriot's post in the hour of danger, but was found in the very moment of panic speaking and moving what your necessities required—secondly, because at the expense of a little time you will gain large experience for the future in all your political concerns.

I said—those who were in such alarm under the idea that Philip had got the Thebans with him did not, in my opinion, understand the position of affairs; for I was sure, had that really been so, we should have heard not of his being at Elatea, but upon our frontiers: he was come, however, I knew for certain, to make all right for himself in Thebes. “Let me inform you,” said I, “how the matter stands.—All the Thebans whom it was possible either to bribe or deceive he has at his command; those who have

resisted him from the first and still oppose him he can in no way prevail upon: what then is his meaning, and why has he seized upon Elatea? He means, by displaying a force in the neighborhood, and bringing up his troops, to encourage and embolden his friends, to intimidate his adversaries, that they may either concede from fear what they now refuse, or be compelled. Now"—said I—"if we determine on the present occasion to remember any unkindness which the Thebans have done us, and to regard them in the character of enemies with distrust, in the first place, we shall be doing just what Philip would desire; in the next place, I fear, his present adversaries embracing his friendship and all Philippizing with one consent, they will both march against Attica. But if you will hearken to me, and be pleased to examine (not cavil at) what I say, I believe it will meet your approval, and I shall dispel the danger impending over Athens. What then do I advise?—First, away with your present fear; and rather fear all of ye for the Thebans—they are nearer harm than we are—to them the peril is more immediate:—next I say, march to Eleusis, all the fighting men and the cavalry, and show yourselves to the world in arms, that your partisans in Thebes may have equal liberty to speak up for the good cause, knowing that, as the faction who sell their country to Philip have an army to support them at Elatea, so the party that will contend for freedom have your assistance at hand if they are assailed. Further I recommend you to elect ten ambassadors, and empower them in conjunction with the generals to fix the time for going there and for the outmarch. When the ambassadors have arrived at Thebes, how do I advise that you should treat the matter? Pray attend particularly to this—Ask nothing of the

Thebans (it would be dishonorable at this time); but offer to assist them if they require it, on the plea that they are in extreme danger, and we see the future better than they do. If they accept this offer and hearken to our counsels, so shall we have accomplished what we desire, and our conduct will look worthy of the state: should we miscarry, they will have themselves to blame for any error committed now, and we shall have done nothing dishonorable or mean."

This and more to the like effect I spoke, and left the platform. It was approved by all; not a word was said against me. Nor did I make the speech without moving, nor make the motion without undertaking the embassy, nor undertake the embassy without prevailing on the Thebans. From the beginning to the end I went through it all; I gave myself entirely to your service, to meet the dangers which encompassed Athens.

Produce me the decree which then passed. Now, Æschines, how would you have me describe you, and how myself, upon that day? Shall I call myself Batalus, your nickname of reproach, and you not even a hero of the common sort, but one of those upon the stage, Cresphontes or Creon, or the Cœnomaus whom you execrably murdered once at Colyttus? Well; upon that occasion I the Batalus of Pæania was more serviceable to the state than you the Cœnomaus of Cothocidæ. You were of no earthly use; I did everything which became a good citizen. Read the decree.

THE DECREE OF DEMOSTHENES

"In the Archonship of Nausicles, in the presidency of the Æntian tribe, on the sixteenth of Scirophorion, Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, moved: Whereas Philip, king of Macedon, hath in time past been violating the

treaty of peace made between him and the Athenian people, in contempt of his oaths and those laws of justice which are recognized among all the Greeks, and hath been annexing unto himself cities that no way belong to him, and hath besieged and taken some which belong to the Athenians without any provocation by the people of Athens, and at the present time he is making great advances in cruelty and violence, forasmuch as in certain Greek cities he puts garrisons and overturns their constitution, some he razes to the ground and sells the inhabitants for slaves, in some he replaces a Greek population with barbarians, giving them possession of the temple and sepulchres, acting in no way foreign to his own country or character, making an insolent use of his present fortune, and forgetting that from a petty and insignificant person he has come to be unexpectedly great; and the people of Athens, so long as they saw him annexing barbarian or private cities of their own, less seriously regarded the offence given to themselves, but now that they see Greek cities outraged and some destroyed, they think it would be monstrous and unworthy of their ancestral glory to look on while the Greeks are enslaved: Therefore it is resolved by the Council and People of Athens, that having prayed and sacrificed to the gods and heroes who protect the Athenian city and territory, bearing in mind the virtue of their ancestors, who deemed it of greater moment to preserve the liberty of Greece than their own country, they will put two hundred ships to sea, and their admiral shall sail up into the straits of Thermopylæ, and their general and commander of horse shall march with the infantry and cavalry to Eleusis, and ambassadors shall be sent to the other Greeks, and first of all to the Thebans, because Philip is nearest their territory, and shall exhort them without dread of Philip to maintain their own independence and that of Greece at large, and assure them that the Athenian people, not remembering any variance which has formerly arisen between the countries, will assist them with troops and money and weapons and arms, feeling that for them

(being Greeks) to contend among themselves for the leadership is honorable, but to be commanded and deprived of the leadership by a man of foreign extraction is derogatory to the renown of the Greeks and the virtue of their ancestors: further, the people of Athens do not regard the people of Thebes as aliens either in blood or race; they remember also the benefits conferred by their ancestors upon the ancestors of the Thebans; for they restored the children of Hercules who were kept by the Peloponnesians out of their hereditary dominion, defeating in battle those who attempted to resist the descendants of Hercules; and we gave shelter to Œdipus and his comrades in exile; and many other kind and generous acts have been done by us to the Thebans: wherefore now also the people of Athens will not desert the interests of the Thebans and the other Greeks: And let a treaty be entered into with them for alliance and intermarriage, and oaths be mutually exchanged. Ambassadors: Demosthenes, son of Demosthenes of Pæania, Hyperides, son of Cleander of Spettus, Mnesithides, son of Antiphanes of Phrearrii, Democrates, son of Sophilus of Phlyus, Callæschrus, son of Diotimus of Cethocidæ.”

That was the commencement and first step in the negotiation with Thebes: before then the countries had been led by these men into discord and hatred and jealousy. That decree caused the peril which then surrounded us to pass away like a cloud. It was the duty of a good citizen, if he had any better plan, to disclose it at the time, not to find fault now. A statesman and a pettifogger, while in no other respect are they alike, in this most widely differ. The one declares his opinion before the proceedings, and makes himself responsible to his followers, to fortune, to the times, to all men: the other is silent when he ought to speak; at any untoward event he grumbles. Now, as I said before, the time for a man who regarded the common-

wealth, and for honest counsel, was then: however I will go to this extent—if any one now can point out a better course, or indeed if any other was practicable but the one which I adopted, I confess that I was wrong. For if there be any measure now discovered, which (executed then) would have been to our advantage, I say it ought not to have escaped me. But if there is none, if there was none, if none can be suggested even at this day, what was a statesman to do? Was he not to choose the best measures within his reach and view? That did I, Æschines, when the crier asked, “Who wishes to speak?”—not, “Who wishes to complain about the past, or to guarantee the future?” While you on those occasions sat mute in the assembly, I came forward and spake. However, as you omitted then, tell us now. Say what scheme that I ought to have devised, what favorable opportunity was lost to the state by my neglect?—what alliance was there, what better plan, to which I should have directed the people? But no! The past is with all the world given up; no one even proposes to deliberate about it: the future it is, or the present, which demands the action of a counsellor. At the time, as it appeared, there were dangers impending, and dangers at hand. Mark the line of my policy at that crisis; don’t rail at the event. The end of all things is what the Deity pleases: his line of policy it is that shows the judgment of the statesman. Do not then impute it as a crime to me that Philip chanced to conquer in battle: that issue depended not on me, but on God. Prove that I adopted not all measures that according to human calculation were feasible—that I did not honestly and diligently and with exertions beyond my strength carry them out—or that my enterprises were not honorable and worthy of the

state and necessary. Show me this, and accuse me as soon as you like. But if the hurricane that visited us hath been too powerful, not for us only, but for all Greece besides, what is the fair course? As if a merchant, after taking every precaution, and furnishing his vessel with everything that he thought would insure her safety, because afterward he met with a storm and his tackle was strained or broken to pieces, should be charged with the shipwreck! "Well, but I was not the pilot"—he might say—just as I was not the general.—"Fortune was not under my control: all was under hers."

Consider and reflect upon this—If with the Thebans on our side, we were destined so to fare in the contest, what was to be expected, if we had never had them for allies, but they had joined Philip, as he used every effort of persuasion to make them do? And if, when the battle was fought three days' march from Attica, such peril and alarm surrounded the city, what must we have expected, if the same disaster had happened in some part of our territory? As it was (do you see?) we could stand, meet, breathe; mightily did one, two, three days, help to our preservation: in the other case—but it is wrong to mention things of which we have been spared the trial by the favor of some deity, and by our protecting ourselves with the very alliance which you assail.

All this, at such length, have I addressed to you, men of the jury, and to the outer circle of hearers; for, as to this contemptible fellow, a short and plain argument would suffice.

If the future was revealed to you, Æschines, alone, when the state was deliberating on these proceedings, you ought to have forwarned us at the time. If you did not

foresee it, you are responsible for the same ignorance as the rest. Why then do you accuse me in this behalf, rather than I you? A better citizen have I been than you in respect of the matters of which I am speaking (others I discuss not at present), inasmuch as I gave myself up to what seemed for the general good, not shrinking from any personal danger, nor taking thought of any; while you neither suggested better measures (or mine would not have been adopted), nor lent any aid in the prosecuting of mine: exactly what the basest person and worst enemy of the state would do, are you found to have done after the event; and at the same time Aristratus in Naxos and Aristolaus in Thasos, the deadly foes of our state, are bringing to trial the friends of Athens, and Æschines at Athens is accusing Demosthenes. Surely the man, who waited to found his reputation upon the misfortunes of the Greeks, deserves rather to perish than to accuse another; nor is it possible that one, who has profited by the same conjectures as the enemies of the commonwealth, can be a well-wisher of his country. You show yourself by your life and conduct, by your political action, and even your political inaction. Is anything going on that appears good for the people? Æschines is mute. Has anything untoward happened or amiss? Forth comes Æschines; just as fractures and sprains are put in motion, when the body is attacked with disease.

But since he insists so strongly on the event, I will even assert something of a paradox: and I beg and pray of you not to marvel at its boldness, but kindly to consider what I say. If then the results had been foreknown to all, if all had foreseen them, and you, Æschines, had foretold them and protested with clamor and outcry—you that never

opened your mouth—not even then should the commonwealth have abandoned her design, if she had any regard for glory, or ancestry, or futurity. As it is, she appears to have failed in her enterprise, a thing to which all mankind are liable, if the Deity so wills it: but then—claiming precedency over others and afterward abandoning her pretensions—she would have incurred the charge of betraying all to Philip. Why, had we resigned without a struggle that which our ancestors encountered every danger to win, who would not have spit upon you? Let me not say, the commonwealth or myself! With what eyes, I pray, could we have beheld strangers visiting the city, if the result had been what it is, and Philip had been chosen leader and lord of all, but other people without us had made the struggle to prevent it; especially when in former times our country had never preferred an ignominious security to the battle for honor? For what Grecian or what barbarian is ignorant that by the Thebans, or by the Lacedæmonians who were in might before them, or by the Persian king, permission would thankfully and gladly have been given to our commonwealth, to take what she pleased and hold her own, provided she would accept foreign law and let another power command in Greece? But, as it seems, to the Athenians of that day such conduct would not have been national, or natural, or endurable: none could at any period of time persuade the commonwealth to attach herself in secure subjection to the powerful and unjust; through every age has she persevered in a perilous struggle for precedency and honor and glory. And this you esteem so noble and congenial to your principles, that among your ancestors you honor most those who acted in such a spirit; and with reason. For who would not admire the virtue of

those men, who resolutely embarked in their galleys and quitted country and home, rather than receive foreign law, choosing Themistocles, who gave such counsel for their general, and stoning Cyrsilus to death, who advised submission to the terms imposed—not him only, but your wives also stoning his wife? Yes; the Athenians of that day looked not for an orator or a general, who might help them to a pleasant servitude: they scorned to live, if it could not be with freedom. For each of them considered that he was not born to his father or mother only, but also to his country. What is the difference? He that thinks himself born for his parents only, waits for his appointed or natural end: he that thinks himself born for his country also, will sooner perish than behold her in slavery, and will regard the insults and indignities, which must be borne in a commonwealth enslaved, as more terrible than death.

Had I attempted to say, that I instructed you in sentiments worthy of your ancestors, there is not a man who would not justly rebuke me. What I declare is, that such principles are your own; I show that before my time such was the spirit of the commonwealth; though certainly in the execution of the particular measures I claim a share also for myself. The prosecutor, arraigning the whole proceedings, and imbittering you against me as the cause of our alarms and dangers, in his eagerness to deprive me of honor for the moment, robs you of the eulogies that should endure forever. For should you, under a disbelief in the wisdom of my policy, convict the defendant, you will appear to have done wrong not to have suffered what befell you by the cruelty of fortune. But never, never can you have done wrong, O Athenians, in undertaking the battle for the freedom and safety of all! I swear it by your fore-

fathers—those that met the peril at Marathon, those that took the field at Plataea, those in the sea-fight at Salamis, and those at Artemisium, and many other brave men who repose in the public monuments, all of whom alike, as being worthy of the same honor, the country buried, Æschines, not only the successful or victorious! Justly! For the duty of brave men has been done by all: their fortune has been such as the Deity assigned to each.

Accursed scribbler! you, to deprive me of the approbation and affection of my countrymen, speak of trophies and battles and ancient deeds, with none of which had this present trial the least concern; but I!—O you third-rate actor!—I, that rose to counsel the state how to maintain her pre-eminence! in what spirit was I to mount the hustings? In the spirit of one having unworthy counsel to offer?—I should have deserved to perish! You yourselves, men of Athens, may not try private and public causes on the same principles: the compacts of every-day life you are to judge of by particular laws and circumstances; the measures of statesmen, by reference to the dignity of your ancestors. And if you think it your duty to act worthily of them, you should every one of you consider, when you come into court to decide public questions, that together with your staff and ticket the spirit of the commonwealth is delivered to you.

But in touching upon the deeds of your ancestors, there were some decrees and transactions which I omitted. I will return from my digression.

On our arrival at Thebes, we found ambassadors there from Philip, from the Thessalians and from his other allies; our friends in trepidation, his friends confident. To prove that I am not asserting this now to serve my own purposes,

read me the letter which we ambassadors despatched on the instant. So outrageous is my opponent's malignity, that, if any advantage was procured, he attributes it to the occasion, not to me; while all miscarriages he attributes to me and my fortune. And according to him, as it seems, I, the orator and adviser, have no merit in results of argument and counsel, but am the sole author of misfortunes in arms and strategy. Could there be a more brutal calumniator or a more execrable? Read the letter.

[*The letter is read*]¹

On the convening of the assembly, our opponents were introduced first, because they held the character of allies. And they came forward and spoke, in high praise of Philip and disparagement of you, bringing up all the hostilities that you ever committed against the Thebans. In fine, they urged them to show their gratitude for the services done by Philip, and to avenge themselves for the injuries which you had done them, either—it mattered not which—by giving them a passage against you, or by joining in the invasion of Attica; and they proved, as they fancied, that by adopting their advice the cattle and slaves and other effects of Attica would come into Bœotia, whereas by acting as they said we should advise Bœotia would suffer pillage through the war. And much they said besides, tending all to the same point. The reply that we made I would give my life to recapitulate, but I fear, as the occasion is past, you will look upon it as if a sort of deluge had overwhelmed the whole proceedings, and regard any talk about them as a useless troubling of you. Hear then

¹ This, and all the documents subsequently referred to by the Orator, are lost.

what we persuaded them and what answer they returned.
Take and read this:

[*The answer of the Thebans*]

After this they invited and sent for you. You marched to their succor, and—to omit what happened between—their reception of you was so friendly, that, while their infantry and cavalry were outside the walls, they admitted your army into their houses and citadel, among their wives and children and all that was most precious. Why, upon that day three of the noblest testimonies were before all mankind borne in your favor by the Thebans, one to your courage, one to your justice, one to your good behavior. For when they preferred fighting on your side to fighting against you, they held you to be braver and juster in your demands than Philip; and when they put under your charge what they and all men are most watchful to protect, their wives and children, they showed that they had confidence in your good behavior. In all which, men of Athens, it appeared they had rightly estimated your character. For after your forces entered the city, not so much as a groundless complaint was preferred against you by any one; so discreetly did you behave yourselves: and twice arrayed on their side in the earlier battles, that by the river and the winter-battle, you proved yourselves not irreproachable only, but admirable in your discipline, your equipments, and your zeal: which called forth eulogies from other men to you, sacrifice and thanksgiving from you to the gods. And I would gladly ask Æschines—while these things were going on, and the city was full of enthusiasm and joy and praise, whether he joined with the multitude in sacrifice and festivity, or sat at home sorrowing and moaning and repining

at the public success. For if he was present and appeared with the rest, is not his conduct monstrous, or rather impious, when measures, which he himself called the gods to witness were excellent, he now requires you to condemn—you that have sworn by the gods? If he was not present, does he not deserve a thousand deaths for grieving to behold what others rejoiced at? Read me now the decrees.

[*The decrees for sacrifice*]

We thus were engaged in sacrifice; the Thebans were in the assurance that they had been saved through us; and it had come about, that a people, who seemed likely to want assistance through the practices of these men, were themselves assisting others in consequence of my advice which you followed. What language Philip then uttered, and in what trouble he was on this account, you shall learn from his letters which he sent to Peloponnesus. Take and read them, that the jury may know what my perseverance and journeys and toils, and the many decrees which this man just now pulled to pieces, accomplished.

Athenians you have had many great and renowned orators before me; the famous Callistratus, Aristophon, Cephalus, Thrasybulus, hundreds of others; yet none of them ever thoroughly devoted himself to any measure of state: for instance, the mover of a resolution would not be ambassador; the ambassador would not move a resolution; each one left for himself some relief, and also, should anything happen, an excuse. How then—it may be said—did you so far surpass others in might and boldness as to do everything yourself? I don't say that: but such was my conviction of the danger impending over us, that I con-

sidered it left no room or thought for individual security; a man should have been only too happy to perform his duty without neglect. As to myself, I was persuaded, perhaps foolishly, yet I was persuaded, that none would move better resolutions than myself, none would execute them better, none as ambassador would show more zeal and honesty. Therefore I undertook every duty myself. Read the letters of Philip.

[*The letters*]

To this did my policy, Æschines, reduce Philip. This language he uttered through me, he that before had lifted his voice so boldly against Athens! For which I was justly crowned by the people; and you were present and opposed it not, and Diondas, who preferred an indictment obtained not his share of the votes. Here, read me the decrees which were then absolved, and which this man never indicted.

[*The decrees*]

These decrees, men of Athens, contain the very words and syllables which Aristonicus drew up formerly, and Ctesiphon the defendant has now. And Æschines neither arraigned these himself, nor aided the party who preferred an indictment. Yet, if his present charge against me be true, he might then have arraigned Demomeles the mover and Hyperides with more show of reason than he can the defendant. Why? Because Ctesiphon may refer to them, and to the decisions of the courts, and to the fact of Æschines not having accused them, although they moved the same decrees which he has now, and to the laws which bar any further proceedings in such a case, and to many points besides:—whereas then the question would have

been tried on its own merits, before any such advantages had been obtained. But then, I imagine, it would have been impossible to do what Æschines now does—to pick out of a multitude of old dates and decrees what no man knew before, and what no man would have expected to hear to-day, for the purpose of slander—to transpose dates, and assign measures to the wrong causes instead of the right, in order to make a plausible case. That was impossible then. Every statement must have been according to the truth, soon after the facts, while you still remembered the particulars and had them almost at your fingers' ends. Therefore it was that he shunned all investigation at the time, and has come at this late period; thinking, as it appears to me, that you would make it a contest of orators, instead of an inquiry into political conduct; that words would be criticised, and not interests of state.

Then he plays the sophist, and says, you ought to disregard the opinion of us which you came from home with—that, as when you audit a man's account under the impression that he has a surplus, if it casts up right and nothing remains, you allow it, so should you now accept the fair conclusion of the argument. Only see, how rotten in its nature (and justly so) is every wicked contrivance! For by this very cunning simile he has now acknowledged it to be your conviction, that I am my country's advocate and he is Philip's. Had not this been your opinion of each, he would not have tried to persuade you differently. That he has however no reasonable ground for requiring you to change your belief, I can easily show, not by casting accounts—for that mode of reckoning applies not to measures—but by calling the circumstances briefly to mind, taking you that hear me both for auditors and witnesses.

Through my policy, which he arraigns, instead of the Thebans invading this country with Philip, as all expected, they joined our ranks and prevented him;—instead of the war being in Attica, it took place seven hundred furlongs from the city on the confines of Bœotia;—instead of corsairs issuing from Eubœa to plunder us, Attica was in peace on the coast-side during the whole war;—instead of Philip being master of the Hellespont by taking Byzantium, the Byzantines were our auxiliaries against him. Does this computation of services, think you, resemble the casting of accounts? Or should we strike these out on a balance, and not look that they be kept in everlasting remembrance? I will not set down that of the cruelty, remarkable in cases where Philip got people all at once into his power, others have had the trial; while of the generosity, which, casting about for his future purposes, he assumed toward Athens, you have happily enjoyed the fruits. I pass that by.

Yet this I do not hesitate to say; that any one desirous of truly testing an orator, not of calumniating him, would never have made the charges that you advanced just now, inventing similes, mimicking words and gestures (doubtless it hath determined the fortune of Greece, whether I spoke this word or that, whether I moved my hand one way or the other!): no! he would have examined the facts of the case, what means and resources our country possessed, when I entered on the administration, what, when I applied myself to it, I collected for her, and what was the condition of our adversaries. Then, if I had lessened her resources, he would have shown me to be guilty; if I had greatly increased them, he would not have calumniated me. However, as you have declined this course, I will adopt it. See if I state the case fairly.

For resources—our country possessed the islanders; not all, but the weakest; for neither Chios, nor Rhodes, nor Corcyra was with us: subsidies she had amounting to five-and-forty talents; and they were anticipated: infantry or cavalry, none besides the native. But what was most alarming and wrought most in favor of the enemy—these men had got all our neighbors to be hostile rather than friendly to us; Megarians, Thebans, Eubœans. Such were the circumstances of our state; no man can say anything to the contrary: look now at those of Philip, whom we had to contend with. In the first place, he ruled his followers with unlimited sway, the most important thing for military operations: in the next place, they had arms always in their hands: besides, he had plenty of money, and did what he pleased, not giving notice by decrees, not deliberating openly, not brought to trial by calumniators, not defending indictments for illegal measures, not responsible to any one, but himself absolute master, leader, and lord of all. I, who was matched against him—for it is right to examine this—what had I under my control? Nothing. Public speech, for instance, the only thing open to me—even to this you invited his hirelings as well as myself; and whenever they prevailed over me (as often happened for some cause or other), your resolutions were passed for the enemy's good. Still under these disadvantages I got you for allies Eubœans, Archæans, Corinthians, Thebans, Megarians, Leucadians, Corcyræans; from whom were collected fifteen thousand mercenaries and two thousand horse, besides the national troops. Of money, too, I procured as large a contribution as possible.

If you talk about just conditions with the Thebans, *Æschines*, or with the Byzantines or Eubœans, or discuss

now the question of equal terms, first I say—you are ignorant that of those galleys formerly which defended Greece, being three hundred in number, our commonwealth furnished two hundred, and never (as it seemed) thought herself injured by having done so, never prosecuted those who advised it or expressed any dissatisfaction—shame on her if she had!—but was grateful to the gods, that, when a common danger beset the Greeks, she alone furnished double what the rest did for the preservation of all. Besides, it is but a poor favor you do your countrymen by calumniating me. For what is the use of telling us now what we should have done?—Why, being in the city and present, did you not make your proposals then; if, indeed, they were practicable at a crisis, when we had to accept not what we liked, but what the circumstances allowed? Remember, there was one ready to bid against us, to welcome eagerly those that we rejected, and give money into the bargain.

But if I am accused for what I have actually done, how would it have been if, through my hard bargaining, the states had gone off and attached themselves to Philip, and he had become master at the same time of Eubœa, Thebes, and Byzantium? What, think ye, these impious men would have said or done? Said, doubtless, that the states were abandoned—that they wished to join us and were driven away—that he had got command of the Hellespont by the Byzantines, and become master of the corn-trade of Greece—that a heavy neighbor-war had by means of the Thebans been brought into Attica—that the sea had become unnavigable by the excursion of pirates from Eubœa! All this would they have said, sure enough, and a great deal besides. A wicked, wicked thing, O Athenians, is a calumniator always, every way spiteful and faultfinding. But

this creature is a reptile by nature, that from the beginning never did anything honest or liberal; a very ape of a tragedian, village CEnomaus, counterfeit orator! What advantage has your eloquence been to your country? Now do you speak to us about the past? As if a physician should visit his patients, and not order or prescribe anything to cure the disease, but on the death of any one, when the last ceremonies were performing, should follow him to the grave and expound how, if the poor fellow had done this and that, he never would have died! Idiot! do you speak now?

Even the defeat—if you exult in that which should make you groan, you accursed one!—by nothing that I have done will it appear to have befallen us. Consider it thus, O Athenians. From no embassy, on which I was commissioned by you, did I ever come away defeated by the ambassadors of Philip—neither from Thessaly, nor from Ambracia, nor from the kings of Thrace, nor from Byzantium, nor from any other place, nor on the last recent occasion from Thebes; but where his ambassadors were vanquished in argument, he came with arms and carried the day. And for this you call me to account; and are not ashamed to jeer the same person for cowardice, whom you require single-handed to overcome the might of Philip—and that, too, by words! For what else had I at my command? Certainly not the spirit of each individual, nor the fortune of the army, nor the conduct of the war, for which you would make me accountable; such a blunderer are you!

Yet understand me. Of what a statesman may be responsible for I allow the utmost scrutiny; I deprecate it not. What are his functions? To observe things in the be-

ginning, to foresee and foretell them to others—this I have done: again; wherever he finds delays, backwardness, ignorance, jealousies, vices inherent and unavoidable in all communities, to contract them into the narrowest compass, and, on the other hand, to promote unanimity and friendship and zeal in the discharge of duty. All this, too, I have performed; and no one can discover the least neglect on my part. Ask any man by what means Philip achieved most of his successes, and you will be told, by his army, and by his bribing and corrupting men in power. Well; your forces were not under my command or control; so that I cannot be questioned for anything done in that department. But by refusing the price of corruption I have overcome Philip: for as the offerer of a bribe, if it be accepted, has vanquished the taker, so the person who refuses it and is not corrupted has vanquished the person offering. Therefore is the commonwealth undefeated as far as I am concerned.

These and such as these (besides many others) are the grounds furnished by myself to justify the defendant's motion in my behalf. Those which you, my fellow-citizens, furnished, I will proceed to mention. Immediately after the battle the people, knowing and having witnessed everything which I did, in the very midst of their alarm and terror, when it would not have been surprising if the great body of them had even treated me harshly, passed my resolutions for the safety of the country; all their measures of defence, the disposition of the garrisons, the trenches, the levies for our fortifications, were carried on under my decrees: and, further, upon the election of a commissioner of grain, they chose me in preference to all. Afterward, when those who were bent to do me a mischief

conspired, and brought indictments, audits, impeachments and the rest of it against me, not at first in their own persons, but in such names as they imagined would most effectually screen themselves (for you surely know and remember that every day of that first period I was arraigned, and neither the desperation of Sosicles, nor the malignity of Philocrates, nor the madness of Diondas and Melantus, nor anything else was left untried by them against me); on all those occasions, chiefly through the gods, next through you and the other Athenians, I was preserved. And with justice! Yes, that is the truth, and to the honor of the juries who so conscientiously decided. Well, then: on the impeachments, when you acquitted me and gave not the prosecutors their share of the votes, you pronounced that my policy was the best: by my acquittal on the indictments my counsels and motions were shown to be legal; by your passing of my accounts you acknowledged my whole conduct to have been honest and incorruptible. Under these circumstances, what name could Ctesiphon with decency or justice give to my acts? Not that which he saw the people give—which he saw the jurors give—which he saw truth establish to the world?

Aye, says he; but that was a fine thing of Cephalus, never to have been indicted. Yes, and a lucky one, too. But why should a man, who has often been charged, but never convicted of crime, be a whit the more liable to reproach? However, men of Athens, against my opponent I have a right to use the boast of Cephalus; for he never preferred or prosecuted any indictment against me; therefore I am a citizen as good as Cephalus by his admission.

From many things one may see his unfeelingness and malignity, but especially from his discourse about fortune.

For my part, I regard any one, who reproaches his fellow-man with fortune, as devoid of sense. He that is best satisfied with his condition, he that deems his fortune excellent, cannot be sure that it will remain so until the evening: how, then, can it be right to bring it forward, or upbraid another man with it? As Æschines, however, has on this subject (besides many others) expressed himself with insolence, look, men of Athens, and observe how much more truth and humanity there shall be in my discourse upon fortune than in his.

I hold the fortune of our commonwealth to be good, and so I find the oracles of Dodonæan Jupiter and Pythian Apollo declaring to us. The fortune of all mankind, which now prevails, I consider cruel and dreadful: for what Greek, what barbarian, has not in these times experienced a multitude of evils? That Athens chose the noblest policy, that she fares better than those very Greeks who thought, if they abandoned us, they should abide in prosperity, I reckon as part of her good fortune: if she suffered reverses, if all happened not to us as we desired, I conceive she has had that share of the general fortune which fell to our lot. As to my fortune (personally speaking) or that of any individual among us, it should, as I conceive, be judged of in connection with personal matters. Such is my opinion upon the subject of fortune, a right and just one, as it appears to me, and I think you will agree with it. Æschines says that my individual fortune is paramount to that of the commonwealth, the small and mean to the good and great. How can this possibly be?

However, if you are determined, Æschines, to scrutinize my fortune, compare it with your own, and, if you find my fortune better than yours, cease to revile it. Look, then,

from the very beginning. And I pray and entreat that I may not be condemned for bad taste. I don't think any person wise, who insults poverty, or who prides himself on having been bred in affluence: but by the slander and malice of this cruel man I am forced into such a discussion; which I will conduct with all the moderation which circumstances allow.

I had the advantage, Æschines, in my boyhood of going to proper schools, and having such allowance as a boy should have who is to do nothing mean from indigence. Arrived at man's estate, I lived suitably to my breeding; was choir-master, ship-commander, rate payer; backward in no acts of liberality, public or private, but making myself useful to the commonwealth and to my friends. When I entered upon state affairs, I chose such a line of politics that both by my country and many people of Greece I have been crowned many times, and not even you, my enemies, venture to say that the line I chose was not honorable. Such, then, has been the fortune of my life: I could enlarge upon it, but I forbear, lest what I pride myself in should give offence.

But you, the man of dignity, who spit upon others, look what sort of fortune is yours compared with mine. As a boy you were reared in abject poverty, waiting with your father on the school, grinding the ink, sponging the benches, sweeping the room, doing the duty of a menial rather than a freeman's son. After you were grown up, you attended your mother's initiations, reading her books and helping in all the ceremonies; at night wrapping the novitiates in fawn-skin, swilling, purifying, and scouring them with clay and bran, raising them after the lustration, and bidding them say, "Bad I have 'scaped, and better I

have found"; priding yourself that no one ever howled so lustily—and I believe him! for don't suppose that he who speaks so loud is not a splendid howler! In the daytime you led your noble orgiasts, crowned with fennel and poplar, through the highways, squeezing the big-cheeked serpents, and lifting them over your head, and shouting *Evæ Sabœ*, and capering to the words *Hyes Attes*, *Attes Hyes*, saluted by the beldames as Leader, Conductor, Chest-bearer, Fan-bearer, and the like, getting as your reward tarts and biscuits and rolls; for which any man might well bless himself and his fortune!

When you were enrolled among your fellow-townsmen—by what means I stop not to inquire—when you were enrolled however, you immediately selected the most honorable of employments, that of clerk and assistant to our petty magistrates. From this you were removed after a while, having done yourself all that you charge others with; and then, sure enough, you disgraced not your antecedents by your subsequent life, but hiring yourself to those ranting players, as they were called, *Simylus* and *Socrates*, you acted third parts, collecting figs and grapes and olives like a fruiterer from other men's farms, and getting more from them than from the playing, in which the lives of your whole company were at stake; for there was an implacable and incessant war between them and the audience, from whom you received so many wounds that no wonder you taunt as cowards people inexperienced in such encounters.

But passing over what may be imputed to poverty, I will come to the direct charges against your character. You espoused such a line of politics (when at last you thought of taking to them), that, if your country prospered, you lived the life of a hare, fearing and trembling and ever expecting

to be scourged for the crimes of which your conscience accused you; though all have seen how bold you were during the misfortunes of the rest. A man who took courage at the death of a thousand citizens—what does he deserve at the hands of the living? A great deal more that I could say about him I shall omit: for it is not all I can tell of his turpitude and infamy which I ought to let slip from my tongue, but only what is not disgraceful to myself to mention.

Contrast now the circumstances of your life and mine, gently and with temper, Æschines; and then ask these people whose fortune they would each of them prefer. You taught reading, I went to school: you performed initiations, I received them: you danced in the chorus, I furnished it: you were assembly-clerk, I was a speaker: you acted third parts, I heard you: you broke down, and I hissed: you have worked as a statesman for the enemy, I for my country. I pass by the rest; but this very day I am on my probation for a crown, and am acknowledged to be innocent of all offence; while you are already judged to be a pettifogger, and the question is, whether you shall continue that trade, or at once be silenced by not getting a fifth part of the votes. A happy fortune, do you see, you have enjoyed, that you should denounce mine as miserable.

Come now, let me read the evidence to the jury of public services which I have performed. And by way of comparison do you recite me the verses which you murdered:

From Hades and the dusky realms I come.

And

Ill news, believe me, I am loth to bear.

Ill betide thee, say I, and may the gods, or at least the

Athenians, confound thee for a vile citizen and a vile third-rate actor!

Read the evidence.

[*Evidence*]

Such has been my character in political matters. In private, if you do not all know that I have been liberal and humane and charitable to the distressed, I am silent, I will say not a word, I will offer no evidence on the subject, either of persons whom I ransomed from the enemy, or of persons whose daughters I helped to portion, or anything of the kind. For this is my maxim. I hold that the party receiving an obligation should ever remember it, the party conferring should forget it immediately, if the one is to act with honesty, the other without meanness. To remind and speak of your own bounties is next door to reproaching. I will not act so: nothing shall induce me. Whatever my reputation is in these respects, I am content with it.

I will have done then with private topics, but say another word or two upon public. If you can mention, Æschines, a single man under the sun, whether Greek or barbarian, who has not suffered by Philip's power formerly and Alexander's now, well and good; I concede to you, that my fortune, or misfortune (if you please), has been the cause of everything. But if many that never saw me or heard my voice have been grievously afflicted, not individuals only but whole cities and nations; how much juster and fairer is it to consider, that to the common fortune apparently of all men, to a tide of events overwhelming and lamentable, these disasters are to be attributed. You, disregarding all this, accuse me whose ministry has been among my countrymen, knowing all the while, that a part (if not the whole) of your calumny falls upon the people,

and yourself in particular. For if I assumed the sole and absolute direction of our counsels, it was open to you and other speakers to accuse me: but if you were constantly present in all the assemblies, if the state invited public discussion of what was expedient, and if these measures were then believed by all to be the best, and especially by you (for certainly from no goodwill did you leave me in possession of hopes and admiration and honors, all of which attended on my policy, but doubtless because you were compelled by the truth and had nothing better to advise); is it not iniquitous and monstrous to complain now of measures, than which you could suggest none better at the time?

Among all other people I find these principles in a manner defined and settled—Does a man wilfully offend? He is the object of wrath and punishment. Hath a man erred unintentionally? There is pardon instead of punishment for him. Has a man devoted himself to what seemed for the general good, and without any fault or misconduct been in common with all disappointed of success? Such a one deserves not obloquy or reproach, but sympathy. These principles will not be found in our statutes only: Nature herself has defined them by her unwritten laws and the feelings of humanity. *Æschines*, however, has so far surpassed all men in brutality and malignity, that even things which he cited himself as misfortunes he imputes to me as crimes.

And besides—as if he himself had spoken everything with candor and goodwill—he told you to watch me, and mind that I did not cajole and deceive you, calling me a great orator, a juggler, a sophist, and the like: as though, if a man says of another what applies to himself, it must

be true, and the hearers are not to inquire who the person is that makes the charge. Certain am I, that you are all acquainted with my opponent's character, and believe these charges to be more applicable to him than to me. And of this I am sure, that my oratory—let it be so: though indeed I find, that the speaker's power depends for the most part on the hearers; for according to your reception and favor it is, that the wisdom of a speaker is esteemed—if I however possess any ability of this sort, you will find it has been exhibited always in public business on your behalf, never against you or on personal matters; whereas that of *Æschines* has been displayed not only in speaking for the enemy, but against all persons who ever offended or quarrelled with him. It is not for justice or the good of the commonwealth that he employs it. A citizen of worth and honor should not call upon judges impanelled in the public service to gratify his anger or hatred or anything of that kind; nor should he come before you upon such grounds. The best thing is not to have these feelings; but, if it cannot be helped, they should be mitigated and restrained.

On what occasions ought an orator and statesman to be vehement? Where any of the commonwealth's main interests are in jeopardy, and he is opposed to the adversaries of the people. Those are the occasions for a generous and brave citizen. But for a person, who never sought to punish me for any offence either public or private, on the state's behalf or on his own, to have got up an accusation because I am crowned and honored, and to have expended such a multitude of words—this is a proof of personal enmity and spite and meanness, not of anything good. And then his leaving the controversy with me, and attacking the defendant, comprises everything that is base.

I should conclude, Æschines, that you undertook this cause to exhibit your eloquence and strength of lungs, not to obtain satisfaction for any wrong. But it is not the language of an orator, Æschines, that has any value, nor yet the tone of his voice, but his adopting the same views with the people, and his hating and loving the same persons that his country does. He that is thus minded will say everything with loyal intention: he that courts persons from whom the commonwealth apprehends danger to herself, rides not on the same anchorage with the people, and therefore has not the same expectation of safety. But—do you see?—I have: for my objects are the same with those of my countrymen; I have no interest separate or distinct. Is that so with you? How can it be—when immediately after the battle you went as ambassador to Philip, who was at that period the author of your country's calamities, notwithstanding that you had before persisted in refusing that office, as all men know?

And who is it that deceives the state? Surely the man who speaks not what he thinks. On whom does the crier pronounce a curse? Surely on such a man. What greater crime can an orator be charged with, than that his opinions and his language are not the same? Such is found to be your character. And yet you open your mouth, and dare to look these men in the faces! Do you think they don't know you?—or are sunk all in such slumber and oblivion, as not to remember the speeches which you delivered in the assembly, cursing and swearing that you had nothing to do with Philip, and that I brought that charge against you out of personal enmity without foundation? No sooner came the news of the battle, than you forgot all that; you acknowledged and avowed that between Philip and yourself

there subsisted a relation of hospitality and friendship—new names these for your contract of hire. For upon what plea of equality or justice could Æschines, son of Glaucothea the timbrel-player, be the friend or acquaintance of Philip? I cannot see. No! You were hired to ruin the interests of your countrymen: and yet, though you have been caught yourself in open treason, and informed against yourself after the fact, you revile and reproach me for things which you will find any man is chargeable with sooner than I.

Many great and glorious enterprises has the commonwealth, Æschines, undertaken and succeeded in through me; and she did not forget them. Here is the proof—On the election of a person to speak the funeral oration immediately after the event, you were proposed, but the people would not have you, notwithstanding your fine voice, nor Demades, though he had just made the peace, nor Hegemon, nor any other of your party—but me. And when you and Pythocles came forward in a brutal and shameful manner (O merciful Heaven!) and urged the same accusations against me which you now do, and abused me, they elected me all the more. The reason—you are not ignorant of it—yet I will tell you. The Athenians knew as well the loyalty and zeal with which I conducted their affairs, as the dishonesty of you and your party; for what you denied upon oath in our prosperity, you confessed in the misfortunes of the republic. They considered therefore, that men who got security for their politics by the public disasters had been their enemies long before, and were then avowedly such. They thought it right also, that the person who was to speak in honor of the fallen and celebrate their valor, should not have sat under the same roof or at the same table with their antagonists; that he should not revel there and

sing a pæan over the calamities of Greece in company with their murderers, and then come here and receive distinction; that he should not with his voice act the mourner of their fate, but that he should lament over them with his heart. This they perceived in themselves and in me, but not in any of you: therefore they elected me, and not you. Nor, while the people felt thus, did the fathers and brothers of the deceased, who were chosen by the people to perform their obsequies, feel differently. For having to order the funeral banquet (according to custom) at the house of the nearest relative to the deceased, they ordered it at mine. And with reason: because, though each to his own was nearer of kin than I was, none was so near to them all collectively. He that had the deepest interest in their safety and success, had upon their mournful disaster the largest share of sorrow for them all.

Read him this epitaph, which the state chose to inscribe on their monument, that you may see even by this, Æschines, what a heartless and malignant wretch you are. Read.

THE EPITAPH

These are the patriot brave, who side by side
 Stood to their arms, and dash'd the foeman's pride:
 Firm in their valor, prodigal of life,
 Hades they chose the arbiter of strife;
 That Greeks might ne'er to haughty victors bow,
 Nor thralldom's yoke, nor dire oppression know;
 They fought, they bled, and on their country's breast
 (Such was the doom of Heaven) these warriors rest.
 Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain,
 But man must suffer what the fates ordain.

Do you hear, Æschines, in this very inscription, that "Gods never lack success, nor strive in vain"? Not to the statesman does it ascribe the power of giving victory

in battle, but to the gods. Wherefore then, execrable man, do you reproach me with these things? Wherefore utter such language? I pray that it may fall upon the heads of you and yours.

Many other accusations and falsehoods he urged against me, O Athenians, but one thing surprised me more than all, that, when he mentioned the late misfortunes of the country, he felt not as became a well-disposed and upright citizen, he shed no tear, experienced no such emotion: with a loud voice, exulting, and straining his throat, he imagined apparently that he was accusing me, while he was giving proof against himself, that our distresses touched him not in the same manner as the rest. A person who pretends, as he did, to care for the laws and constitution, ought at least to have this about him, that he grieves and rejoices for the same cause as the people, and not by his politics to be enlisted in the ranks of the enemy, as Æschines has plainly done, saying that I am the cause of all, and that the commonwealth has fallen into troubles through me, when it was not owing to my views or principles that you began to assist the Greeks; for, if you conceded this to me, that my influence caused you to resist the subjugation of Greece, it would be a higher honor than any that you have bestowed upon others. I myself would not make such an assertion—it would be doing you injustice—nor would you allow it, I am sure; and Æschines, if he acted honestly, would never, out of enmity to me, have disparaged and defamed the greatest of your glories.

But why do I censure him for this, when with calumny far more shocking has he assailed me? He that charges me with Philippizing—O heaven and earth!—what would he not say? By Hercules and the gods! if one had hon-

estly to inquire, discarding all expression of spite and falsehood, who the persons really are, on whom the blame of what has happened may by common consent fairly and justly be thrown, it would be found, they are persons in the various states like Æschines, not like me—persons who, while Philip's power was feeble and exceedingly small, and we were constantly warning and exhorting and giving salutary counsel, sacrificed the general interests for the sake of selfish lucre, deceiving and corrupting their respective countrymen, until they made them slaves—Daochus, Cineas, Thrasylaus, the Thessalians; Cercidas, Hieronymus, Eucampidas, the Arcadians; Myrtis, Teledamus, Mnaseas, the Argives; Euxitheus, Cleotimus, Aristæchmus, the Eleans; Neon and Thrasylochus, sons of the accursed Philides, the Messenians; Aristratus, Epichares, the Sicyonians; Dinarchus, Demaratus, the Corinthians; Ptœodorus, Helixus, Perilaus, the Megarians; Timolaus, Theogiton, Anemœtas, the Thebans; Hipparchus, Clitarchus, Sosistratus, the Eubœans. The day will not last me to recount the names of the traitors. All these, O Athenians, are men of the same politics in their own countries as this party among you—profligates, and parasites, and miscreants, who have each of them crippled their fatherlands; toasted away their liberty, first to Philip and last to Alexander; who measure happiness by their belly and all that is base, while freedom and independence, which the Greeks of olden time regarded as the test and standard of well-being, they have annihilated.

Of this base and infamous conspiracy and profligacy—or rather, O Athenians, if I am to speak in earnest, of this betrayal of Grecian liberty—Athens is by all mankind acquitted, owing to my counsels; and I am acquitted by

you. Then do you ask me, Æschines, for what merit I claim to be honored? I will tell you. Because, while all the statesmen in Greece, beginning with yourself, have been corrupted formerly by Philip and now by Alexander, me neither opportunity, nor fair speeches, nor large promises, nor hope, nor fear, nor anything else could tempt or induce to betray aught that I considered just and beneficial to my country. Whatever I have advised my fellow-citizens, I have never advised like you men, leaning as in a balance to the side of profit: all my proceedings have been those of a soul upright, honest, and incorrupt: intrusted with affairs of greater magnitude than any of my contemporaries, I have administered them all honestly and faithfully. Therefore do I claim to be honored.

As to this fortification, for which you ridiculed me, of the wall and fosse, I regard them as deserving of thanks and praise, and so they are; but I place them nowhere near my acts of administration. Not with stones nor with bricks did I fortify Athens: nor is this the ministry on which I most pride myself. Would you view my fortifications aright, you will find arms, and states, and posts, and harbors, and galleys, and horses, and men for their defence. These are the bulwarks with which I protected Attica, as far as was possible by human wisdom; with these I fortified our territory, not the circle of Piræus or the city. Nay more; I was not beaten by Philip in estimates or preparations; far from it; but the generals and forces of the allies were overcome by his fortune. Where are the proofs of this. They are plain and evident. Consider.

What was the course becoming a loyal citizen— a states-

man serving his country with all possible forethought and zeal and fidelity? Should he not have covered Attica on the seaboard with Eubœa, on the midland frontier with Bœotia, on the Peloponnesian with the people of that confine? Should he not have provided for the conveyance of corn along a friendly coast all the way to Piræus? preserved certain places that belonged to us by sending off succors, and by advising and moving accordingly—Proconnesus, Chersonesus, Tenedos? brought others into alliance and confederacy with us—Byzantium, Abydus, Eubœa?—cut off the principal resources of the enemy and supplied what the commonwealth was deficient in? All this has been accomplished by my decrees and measures; and whoever will examine them without prejudice, men of Athens, will find they were rightly planned and faithfully executed; that none of the proper seasons were lost or missed or thrown away by me, nothing which depended on one man's ability and prudence was neglected. But if the power of some deity or of fortune, or the worthlessness of commanders, or the wickedness of you that betrayed your countries, or all these things together, injured and eventually ruined our cause, of what is Demosthenes guilty? Had there in each of the Greek cities been one such man as I was in my station among you; or rather, had Thessaly possessed one single man, and Arcadia one, of the same sentiments as myself, none of the Greeks either beyond or within Thermopylæ would have suffered their present calamities: all would have been free and independent, living prosperously in their own countries with perfect safety and security, thankful to you and the rest of the Athenians for such manifold blessings through me.

To show you that I greatly understate my services for

fear of giving offence, here—read me this—the list of auxiliaries procured by my decrees.

[*The list of auxiliaries*]

These and the like measures, Æschines, are what become an honorable citizen (by their success—O earth and heaven!—we should have been the greatest of people incontestably, and deserved to be so: even under their failure the result is glory, and no one blames Athens or her policy; all condemn fortune that so ordered things); but never will he desert the interests of the commonwealth, nor hire himself to her adversaries, and study the enemy's advantage, instead of his country's; nor on a man who has courage to advise and propose measures worthy of the state, and resolution to persevere in them, will he cast an evil eye, and, if any one privately offends him, remember and treasure it up; no, nor keep himself in a criminal and treacherous retirement, as you so often do. There is indeed a retirement just and beneficial to the state, such as you, the bulk of my countrymen, innocently enjoy: that however is not the retirement of Æschines; far from it. Withdrawing himself from public life when he pleases (and that is often), he watches for the moment when you are tired of a constant speaker, or when some reverse of fortune has befallen you, or anything untoward has happened (and many are the casualties of human life); at such a crisis he springs up an orator, rising from his retreat like a wind; in full voice, with words and phrases collected, he rolls them out audibly and breathlessly, to no advantage or good purpose whatsoever, but to the detriment of some or other of his fellow-citizens and to the general disgrace.

Yet from this labor and diligence, Æschines, if it pro-

ceeded from an honest heart, solicitous for your country's welfare, the fruits should have been rich and noble and profitable to all—alliances of states, supplies of money, conveniences of commerce, enactment of useful laws, opposition to our declared enemies. All such things were looked for in former times; and many opportunities did the past afford for a good man and true to show himself; during which time you are nowhere to be found, neither first, second, third, fourth, fifth, nor sixth—not in any rank at all—certainly in no service by which your country was exalted. For what alliance has come to the state by your procurement? What succors, what acquisition of goodwill or credit? What embassy or agency is there of yours, by which the reputation of the country has been increased? What concern domestic, Hellenic, or foreign, of which you have had the management, has improved under it? What galleys? what ammunition? what arsenals? what repair of walls? what cavalry? What in the world are you good for? What assistance in money have you ever given, either to the rich or the poor, out of public spirit of liberality? None. But, good sir, if there is nothing of this, there is at all events zeal and loyalty. Where? when? You infamous fellow! Even at a time when all who ever spoke upon the platform gave something for the public safety, and last Aristonicus gave the sum which he had amassed to retrieve his franchise, you neither came forward nor contributed a mite—not from inability—no! for you have inherited above five talents from Philo, your wife's father, and you had a subscription of two talents from the chairmen of the Boards for what you did to cut up the navy law. But, that I may not go from one thing to another and lose sight of the question, I pass this by.

That it was not poverty prevented your contributing, already appears: it was, in fact, your anxiety to do nothing against those to whom your political life is subservient. On what occasions then do you show your spirit? When do you shine out? When aught is to be spoken against your countrymen!—then it is you are splendid in voice, perfect in memory, an admirable actor, a tragic Theoclines.

You mention the good men of olden times; and you are right so to do. Yet it is hardly fair, O Athenians, that he should get the advantage of that respect which you have for the dead, to compare and contrast me with them—me who am living among you; for what mortal is ignorant that toward the living there exists always more or less of ill will, whereas the dead are no longer hated even by an enemy? Such being human nature, am I to be tried and judged by the standard of my predecessors? Heaven forbid! It is not just or equitable, Æschines. Let me be compared with you, or any persons you like of your party who are still alive. And consider this—whether it is more honorable and better for the state, that because of the services of a former age, prodigious though they are beyond all power of expression, those of the present generation should be unrequited and spurned, or that all who give proof of their good intentions should have their share of honor and regard from the people? Yet indeed—if I must say so much—my politics and principles, if considered fairly, will be found to resemble those of the illustrious ancients, and to have had the same objects in view, while yours resemble those of their calumniators: for it is certain there were persons in those times who ran down the living, and praised people dead and gone, with a malignant purpose like yourself.

Two things, men of Athens, are characteristic of a well-disposed citizen: so may I speak of myself and give the least offence:—In authority, his constant aim should be the dignity and pre-eminence of the commonwealth; in all times and circumstances his spirit should be loyal. This depends upon nature; power and might upon other things. Such a spirit, you will find, I have ever sincerely cherished. Only see. When my person was demanded—when they brought Amphictyonic suits against me—when they menaced—when they promised—when they set these miscreants like wild beasts upon me—never in any way have I abandoned my affection for you. From the very beginning I chose an honest and straightforward course in politics, to support the honor, the power, the glory of my fatherland, these to exalt, in these to have my being. I do not walk about the marketplace gay and cheerful because the stranger has prospered, holding out my right hand and congratulating those who I think will report it yonder, and on any news of our own success shudder and groan and stoop to the earth, like these impious men, who rail at Athens, as if in so doing they did not rail at themselves; who look abroad, and if the foreigner thrives by the distresses of Greece, are thankful for it, and say we should keep him so thriving to all time.

Never, O ye gods, may those wishes be confirmed by you! If possible, inspire even in these men a better sense and feeling! But if they are, indeed, incurable, destroy them by themselves; exterminate them on land and sea; and for the rest of us, grant that we may speedily be released from our present fears, and enjoy a lasting deliverance.

DINARCHUS

DINARCHUS, one of the ten, but most minor, of Attic orators, was born at Corinth about 361 B. C., though he resided at Athens, where he belonged to the Phocion party that advocated a policy of peace with Macedon, in opposition to Demosthenes and his patriot-following. Dinarchus, like Æschines, Demosthenes, and other public speakers of the era, professionally wrote orations and composed speeches for suitors in the courts. Being an alien, he was not permitted himself to plead in the courts, but he wrote with fluency and added to his reputation as an orator by the command of a good style. Adhering to the Macedonian party in the State, he was an enemy of Demosthenes, whom he nevertheless imitated, so much so as to be known as "the barleybread Demosthenes"; while he also imitated by turns the style of Lysias and of Hyperides. The period of his chief influence at Athens was during the régime of Demetrius Phalereus, orator and politician, and when the latter's administration fell, in 307, Dinarchus and he were expelled, Dinarchus taking up his abode at Chalcis, in Eubœa. Fifteen years later he ventured to return to Attica, where he is supposed to have died in 291 B. C. Of a number of orations attributed to him, three have been preserved entire, viz., those against Philocles, against Demosthenes, and against Aristogiton—the latter of which is appended. These orations were composed, manifestly, for the prosecutors of those Athenians who were charged with accepting bribes from Harpalus, the fugitive treasurer of the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great. Some doubt has been cast upon their authenticity; but most commentators appear to agree on the likelihood of their being the work of Dinarchus.

SPEECH AGAINST ARISTOGITON

[Dinarchus delivered the following speech against Aristogiton, who had received bribes from one of the anti-Macedonian party.]

ON OCCASIONS like the present, fellow Athenians, we ought not to be astonished at anything we see or hear. But what could be more astonishing than the audacity of Aristogiton? Basest of men in our city, nay, in all the world, he has dared to come before you to contend with the Council of the Areopagus about a question of truth and justice. And the Council that has denounced him is in greater danger than he, though for twenty minæ he has been bribed to betray you and to sell his freedom of speech in the cause of justice.

Such is the depravity of this man that nothing can appall him. Even death itself, should you condemn him, will have no terrors for him, since he has in the past committed many crimes deserving of death, and has spent more of his life in prison than out of it. Moreover, though still in the public debt, he has in violation of the law brought indictments against our citizens. Outrageous, however, as have been his past misdeeds, nothing causes me to feel greater indignation than that he should be thought by you to be an innocent man unjustly brought to trial by the Council. The truth is, fellow Athenians, that this man has come here to-day in confident expectation of an acquittal — this man who has already suffered all the punishments that fall to the lot of the wicked except death. To death, then, if the gods so will and you are wise, you will condemn this wretch to-day. Hope not to reform him; for if you pardon him now what assurance have you that he will not again betray your interests in the future? Depravity in its inception may be checked. But how can you hope to exercise a restraining influence over one who has been hardened in the ways of vice and has suffered all the ordinary forms of punishment? If, of course, you wish depravity to become ingrained in the state, protect Aristogiton and give free rein to lawlessness; but if you abhor depravity, and feel righteous indignation upon recalling Aristogiton's past misdeeds, condemn him now for daring to accept money from Harpalus as the price of treachery. To the excuses of such a man turn a deaf ear; and above all be not deceived by the impositions upon which he mainly relies for his defence.

Disquieting and annoying as has been the attempt of Harpalus to take our city by stratagem, it has not been wholly unproductive of good results; for it has shown us clearly **who** would, and **who** would not, betray us for gold and silver.

Why then are you supine, fellow Athenians, when it lies in your power to punish the hireling and to purge venality from our city? Do you doubt his guilt? If my words fail to convince you, you should at least put faith in the denunciation of the Council.

Why now do you suppose that we ask you to hear our accusation against Aristogiton? Is it because we fear that, unless we thunder loud and long against this traitor, caught in the very act of treason, you will think the denunciation of the Council false and groundless? No, it is because we feel with you that in receiving a bribe to betray his countrymen **he** has committed a crime worthy only of those abandoned wretches who seek to do their country all the harm they can.

Consider now the merits of this excellent man, and see what reason you have to spare him. Temperate in his habits, and of good ancestry, he has done you many noble acts both of a public and private nature. For who of you has not heard that, when Aristogiton's father, Cudimachus, was condemned to death and fled from the city, this excellent son suffered his father to be in want of the necessities of life, and after his death denied him the customary funeral rites? For these offences charges have frequently been preferred against him. Moreover, when he was first led off to prison, he committed such acts of wickedness there that the rest of the prisoners refused to give him a light, to eat with him, or to take part in any sacred rites with him. What redeeming trait, then, can you find in this miscreant, who was sentenced to imprisonment for his wickedness, and even to the inmates of the prison seemed so wicked that they deemed him unworthy of the same treatment with the rest. He was a thief among thieves, and had there been a viler dungeon, into **that**, they say, they would have cast the untamable beast. The truth

of what I say is amply attested by the fact that these misdeeds were all charged against him, when he was examined, after being appointed by lot Overseer of the Exchange, and was rejected by the judges as being unfit to discharge the duties of that office.

What claim to pity, fellow Athenians, has this man, who showed no pity for his starving father? Or why need I further urge the punishment of a man who you all know deserves to suffer the severest penalty imposed by law for both his past and present crimes? Was it not Aristogiton who indicted the priestess of Artemis Brauronia and her family on a false charge, for which offence you fined him five talents after you learned the truth from his prosecutors? Before paying this fine, did he not continually slander you in public both in speech and writing, and hold in contempt all the penalties prescribed by law against wrong-doers? Finally, when he had been accused by Lycurgus of haranguing the people, while he was still in the public debt, and had been convicted and given over to the jailers according to law, did he not walk about in front of the judges and even sit down in the place reserved for the presidents of the Council?

Surely, fellow Athenians, you will never hearken to the counsel of a man whom the law has given over to you for punishment, whom the people have condemned, and whom neither jailers nor prison walls have been able to keep in confinement. The law commands you to begin your deliberations on affairs of state only after the herald has offered solemn prayer to the gods. How then can you admit this accursed traitor and reprobate son into your assembly to deliberate with you and your kinsmen about matters affecting the public weal? Demades and Demosthenes you refused to pardon for receiving bribes, and justly so. Yet they showed good states-

manship, if not in all, at least in many matters. But this accursed wretch has never done you any good since he began his public career, but all the harm he could. Will you then pardon him? Or do you think that you will escape censure and reproach if you listen to his counsel? Whenever a man speaks before the people, who is notorious and has a widespread reputation for depravity, the bystanders ask in wonder whether the people listen to him because they have no better counsellors, or because they take pleasure in hearing such a man speak.

In this, as in other matters, you cannot do better than conform to the practice of your ancestors. To secure the best results in public speaking and the conduct of public affairs they spared no pains. First they publicly cursed the man who dared to speak in the assembly after he had received a bribe, and solemnly called upon the gods to doom him and his entire family to utter destruction. Such a man is Aristogiton. Then by law they made bribery and solicitation of bribery indictable offences, and provided a penalty, by way of fine, ten times as great as the amount of the bribe, believing that the man who received a price for his public utterances spoke not in the interest of his countrymen, but in the interest of his corruptor. For this very offence, of which you are all aware, the Council of the Areopagus has denounced Aristogiton. Finally they subjected to a rigid examination all who were to engage in the administration of public affairs. Each candidate's private character was brought to light. Of each they inquired whether he was kind to his parents; whether he had served in the armies of the commonwealth; whether he had erected a tomb to the memory of his father; and whether he had paid his taxes.

Such a test as this Aristogiton could never stand. For

instead of being kind to his parents he treated his father most shamefully. When, too, you served in the army, he served in prison. So far, moreover, from erecting any tomb or monument to the memory of his father, he did not even give him in Eretria, where he died, the customary rites of burial. Finally, though the rest of us have contributed to the support of the state out of our private means, he has not even paid up the fines imposed on him as the penalty of his misdeeds. In a word, he has continually acted in violation of all law and order; and him alone the Council of the Areopagus has denounced.

Remember, fellow Athenians, that your reputation is now at stake. For as you pronounce judgment on Aristogiton the world will pronounce judgment on you. If, then, you are prudent, you will not condemn yourselves, but will deliver this man to those whose duty it is to punish the guilty. The Council has denounced him for treason; his father has condemned him for the wrongs he did him, living and dead; and the people have given him over to you for punishment.

Such being the case, how can you acquit this man, who, to say nothing of his past crimes, has now been caught in the very act of treason? If you let him escape now, what reason will you give for having condemned men in the past? Or how does it happen that you urge the Council to denounce traitors, yet fail to punish them when denounced?

This is not, fellow Athenians, a private suit, but a public prosecution, far-reaching in its effects. On your judgment now much depends in the future. If you acquit Aristogiton now, you will give encouragement to bribery and treason; but if you condemn him, you will inspire fear in all would-be hirelings and traitors. Even now the fear of your judgment represses the zeal of those who would betray you for a bribe.

And your decree, commanding the Council to investigate all such cases, has frightened even those who bring this bribe money into the country.

Recall now the glorious example of your fathers, who have recorded their judgment against bribery upon yonder column on the Acropolis. They showed no mercy for Arthmius, the son of Pythonax, the Zelite, who brought gold from the Medes to corrupt the Greeks. Before any one had a chance to be bribed and thereby give proof his character, they sentenced Arthmius to exile and banished him from the whole land forever. And these things they inscribed on an entablature of bronze, to be an example to their descendants for all time. For they believed that the man who received a bribe had not at heart the welfare of his country, but rather that of his corrupter. And they took care to set forth in clear and unmistakable characters their reason for banishing Arthmius from Athens — because he was an enemy of the people and their allies, since he had brought gold from the Medes into the Peloponnesus.

If, then, your fathers thought it a source of great evil to the Greeks to have gold brought into the Peloponnesus, how can you be indifferent when you know that bribery has been committed in your own city? And how do you think your fathers would have dealt with a fellow citizen, caught in the act of betraying them for a bribe, when they so justly and prudently expelled a foreigner? They dared to face danger against the barbarian in a manner worthy of their country and their fathers. So, too, would they have passed upon Aristogiton a sentence worthy of their country and their fathers — the sentence of death.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

SCIPIO AFRICANUS



UBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO, known as AFRICANUS MAJOR, a great Roman general, who with others of his family achieved fame in the wars between Rome and Carthage, was born about the year 234 B. C. As a youth, he was present at the disastrous battles of the Ticinus, the Trebia, and Cannæ, and at the age of twenty-four was given command of the Roman army in Spain, the year after his father's death. After capturing New Carthage and defeating Hasdrubal, he completed the conquest of Spain in 206, and returning to Rome was elected consul, with Sicily as his province. In 204, he invaded Africa, where he defeated Syphax and Hasdrubal, the Carthaginian general, and in 202 crushed Hannibal at Zama, thus ending the Second Punic War. On his return to Rome, he was paid great honors, appointed censor and consul, and had the title of "Africanus" conferred upon him. His later years were, however, years of adversity, for he and his brother Lucius were accused of taking bribes from Antiochus the Great (though it is thought unjustly) during the Roman campaign against that Syrian king, and he went into exile at Liternum, on the coast of Campania, dying, it is believed, in 183 B. C., the year also of Hannibal's death. Scipio the Younger, who took a prominent part in the Third Punic War, was an adopted son of the preceding.

SPEECH IN HIS DEFENCE

[A FRAGMENT]

T O-DAY, tribunes of the commons and fellow Romans, is the anniversary of the day on which I engaged in battle with Hannibal and the Carthaginians in Africa, and gained for you a splendid victory. Since, then, you must sit in judgment on me to-day, I will go hence immediately to the Capitol to salute our great and good father Jupiter, and Juno, and Minerva, and the rest of the gods who guard our citadel; and I will thank them, because, both on

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that day and on many others, they gave me the ability and the opportunity to serve my country well. Let all of you, too, fellow Romans, who can, accompany me, and pray the gods that you may always have leaders like me. And remember that if from boyhood to old age you have always bestowed upon me honors above and beyond my years, I have surpassed those honors by my achievements.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

MARCUS PORCIUS CATO



MARCUS PORCIUS CATO, surnamed "The Censor," Roman statesman and general, was born in 234 B. C., at Tusculum, of a plebeian family. He is usually termed CATO MAJOR, to distinguish him from his great-grandson, Cato the Younger, the Roman patriot and stoic philosopher. Cato the elder was a Roman of the old school, trained to an austere, rustic, and frugal life, and in his early career served in the army, after which he took up his abode at Rome, where he became successively ædile, prætor, consul, and censor, fought against Hannibal in the Second Punic War, and for his services in Spain was decreed a public triumph on his return to Rome. In 184, he was elected censor, and was rigorous in his denunciation of the artificial life and enervating habits of the time, a zealous assertor of old-fashioned principles, and spurner of all innovations. He was implacable in his hostility to Carthage, where he had been as an ambassador, and did much to incite the Third Punic War of 149-146 B. C., ending most of his speeches in the Senate with the now familiar phrase: *Delenda est Carthago*, or more fully: *Ceterum censeo Carthaginem esse Delendam* — meaning, "That which stands in the way of our greatness must at all hazards be removed." Brusque of speech and in manners, and of severe morals, Cato was, however, a man of many virtues and of undoubted patriotism, as well as of strict justice and upright life.

DEFENCE OF THE RHODIANS

[The Rhodians had refused to aid the Romans in their war against the Persians, and in consequence a Roman prætor attempted to incite the Romans to declare war against them. Cato defended the Rhodians in a splendid oration of which only the following fragment remains.]

I KNOW that most men in the hour of success and prosperity become exalted in spirit and feel excessive pride and haughtiness. Since, then, we have fared so well in our late war, I am anxious that we should commit no blunder in our deliberations to dim the lustre of our triumph, and that we should not manifest our joy with too great exuberance. Adversity brings men to their senses, and shows them what must be done; but prosperity is apt to turn men, in the excess of their joy, aside from the path of cool deliberation and sound judgment. It is for this reason that I urge and persuade you to postpone the determination of this matter until we recover from our excessive joy and regain our usual self-control.

I admit that the Rhodians did not wish to see us conquer the king of Persia. But the Rhodians are not alone; many other peoples and many other nations have expressed that same wish. And I am inclined to believe that their attitude in this war was due not to any desire to affront us, but to the very natural fear that if there was no one in the world whom we feared, and we should have our way, they, like many other nations, would soon become the slaves of our imperial rule. They were prompted only by a desire to preserve their liberty. And yet they never openly aided the Persian king.

Pause now for a moment, and consider how much more solicitous we are about our private interests than the Rhodians have been about their welfare. If any one of us foresees a possible injury to his private interests, he struggles might and main to avert it. Yet the Rhodians have patiently submitted to such a possible injury their welfare.

Shall we now give up all at once the great advantages of our friendship with the Rhodians, and deprive them, too, of equal advantages? Were we not the first to do in fact the very thing which we now say the Rhodians wished to do?

The bitterest adversary of the Rhodian cause says that they wished to become our enemies. Is there any one of you who, in his own case, thinks it just to be punished because he is charged with having merely a desire to do wrong? I certainly do not think so for my part. Is there, moreover, any law so harsh as to enjoin that, if any one has a mere desire to do so and so, he shall forfeit a thousand sesterces and half his slaves; or if any one desires to have more than five hundred acres of land, he shall be punished; or finally, if any one wishes to have more sheep, he shall pay the penalty? We Romans desire to possess all things in greater

abundance; and yet we are not punished for having such a desire.

It certainly is not proper that a man should be held in esteem merely because he says he has had a disposition to do good when in fact he has not done so. Shall the Rhodians, then, be in a worse position, not because they have actually done wrong, but because they are said to have the desire to do so?

"But these Rhodians," they say, "are proud" — a reproach that touches me and my children. Suppose they are proud. What is that to us? Are we to lose our temper because some one else is prouder than we?

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

SPEECH IN SUPPORT OF THE OPIAN LAW

[This law enacted that "no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold, or wear a garment of various colors, or ride in a carriage drawn by horses, in a city, or any town, or any place nearer thereto than one mile, except on occasion of some public religious assembly." While the repeal of this law was under consideration the Capitol was thronged with interested crowds, while the women beset every street and pass in the city, beseeching the men, as they went down to the Forum, that in the present prosperous state of the commonwealth they would suffer the women to have their former ornaments of dress restored. Livy gives the following speech delivered by Cato upon this occasion.]

IF, Romans, every individual among us had made it a rule to maintain the prerogative and authority of a husband with respect to his own wife, we should have less trouble with the whole sex. But now our privileges, overpowered at home by female contumacy, are, even here in the Forum, spurned and trodden under foot; and because we are unable to withstand each separately we now dread their collective body. I was accustomed to think it a fabulous and fictitious

tale that in a certain island the whole race of males was utterly extirpated by a conspiracy of the women.

But the utmost danger may be apprehended equally from either sex if you suffer cabals and secret consultations to be held: scarcely indeed can I determine, in my own mind, whether the act itself, or the precedent that it affords, is of more pernicious tendency. The latter of these more particularly concerns us consuls and the other magistrates; the former, you, my fellow citizens: for, whether the measure proposed to your consideration be profitable to the state or not, is to be determined by you, who are to vote on the occasion.

As to the outrageous behavior of these women, whether it be merely an act of their own, or owing to your instigations, Marcus Fundanius and Lucius Valerius, it unquestionably implies culpable conduct in magistrates. I know not whether it reflects greater disgrace on you, tribunes, or on the consuls: on you certainly, if you have brought these women hither for the purpose of raising tribunitian seditions; on us, if we suffer laws to be imposed on us by a secession of women, as was done formerly by that of the common people. It was not without painful emotions of shame that I, just now, made my way into the Forum through the midst of a band of women.

Had I not been restrained by respect for the modesty and dignity of some individuals among them, rather than of the whole number, and been unwilling that they should be seen rebuked by a consul, I should not have refrained from saying to them, "What sort of practice is this, of running out into public, besetting the streets, and addressing other women's husbands? Could not each have made the same request to her husband at home? Are your blandishments more seducing in public than in private, and with other women's husbands than

with your own? Although if females would let their modesty confine them within the limits of their own rights, it did not become you, even at home, to concern yourselves about any laws that might be passed or repealed here." Our ancestors thought it not proper that women should perform any, even private business, without a director; but that they should be ever under the control of parents, brothers, or husbands. We, it seems, suffer them, now, to interfere in the management of state affairs, and to thrust themselves into the Forum, into general assemblies, and into assemblies of election: for what are they doing at this moment in your streets and lanes? What, but arguing, some in support of the motion of tribunes; others contending for the repeal of the law?

Will you give the reins to their intractable nature, and then expect that themselves should set bounds to their licentiousness, and without your interference? This is the smallest of the injunctions laid on them by usage or the laws, all which women bear with impatience: they long for entire liberty; nay, to speak the truth, not for liberty, but for unbounded freedom in every particular: for what will they not attempt if they now come off victorious? Recollect all the institutions respecting the sex, by which our forefathers restrained their profligacy and subjected them to their husbands; and yet, even with the help of all these restrictions, they can scarcely be kept within bounds. If, then, you suffer them to throw these off one by one, to tear them all asunder, and, at last, to be set on an equal footing with yourselves, can you imagine that they will be any longer tolerable? Suffer them once to arrive at an equality with you, and they will from that moment become your superiors.

But, indeed, they only object to any new law being made against them; they mean to deprecate, not justice, but

severity. Nay, their wish is that a law which you have admitted, established by your suffrages, and found in the practice and experience of so many years to be beneficial, should now be repealed; and that by abolishing one law you should weaken all the rest. No law perfectly suits the convenience of every member of the community; the only consideration is, whether, on the whole, it be profitable to the greater part. If, because a law proves obnoxious to a private individual, it must therefore be cancelled and annulled, to what purpose is it for the community to enact laws, which those, whom they were particularly intended to comprehend, could presently repeal? Let us, however, inquire what this important affair is which has induced the matrons thus to run out into public in this indecorous manner, scarcely restraining from pushing into the Forum and the assembly of the people.

Is it to solicit that their parents, their husbands, children, and brothers may be ransomed from captivity under Hannibal?

By no means: and far be ever from the commonwealth so unfortunate a situation. Yet, when such was the case, you refused this to the prayers which, on that occasion, their duty dictated. But it is not duty, nor solicitude for their friends; it is religion that has collected them together. They are about to receive the Idæan Mother, coming out of Phrygia from Pessinus.

What motive, that even common decency will not allow to be mentioned, is pretended for this female insurrection? Hear the answer:

That we may shine in gold and purple; that, both on festival and common days, we may ride through the city in our chariots, triumphing over vanquished and abrogated law, after having captured and wrested from you your suffrages; and that there may be no bounds to our expenses and our luxury.

Often have you heard me complain of the profuse expenses of the women — often of those of the men; and that not only of men in private stations, but of the magistrates; and that the state was endangered by two opposite vices, luxury and avarice; those pests which have ever been the ruin of every great state. These I dread the more, as the circumstances of the commonwealth grow daily more prosperous and happy; as the empire increases; as we have passed over into Greece and Asia, places abounding with every kind of temptation that can inflame the passions; and as we have begun to handle even royal treasures: for I greatly fear that these matters will rather bring us into captivity than we them.

Believe me, those statues from Syracuse made their way into this city with hostile effect. I already hear too many commending and admiring the decorations of Athens and Corinth, and ridiculing the earthen images of our Roman gods that stand on the fronts of their temples. For my part, I prefer these gods,—propitious as they are, and I hope will continue, if we allow them to remain in their own mansions.

In the memory of our fathers, Pyrrhus, by his ambassador Cineas, made trial of the dispositions, not only of our men, but of our women also, by offers of presents: at that time the Oppian law, for restraining female luxury, had not been made; and yet not one woman accepted a present. What, think you, was the reason? That for which our ancestors made no provision by law on this subject: there was no luxury existing which might be restrained.

As diseases must necessarily be known before their remedies, so passions come into being before the laws which prescribe limits to them. What called forth the Licinian law, restricting estates to five hundred acres, but the unbounded desire for enlarging estates? What the Cineian law, concern-

ing gifts and presents, but that the plebeians had become vassals and tributaries to the senate? It is not, therefore, in any degree surprising that no want of the Oppian law, or of any other, to limit the expenses of the women, was felt at that time, when they refused to receive gold and purple that was thrown in their way and offered to their acceptance. If Cineas were now to go round the city with his presents, he would find numbers of women standing in the public streets ready to receive them.

There are some passions the causes or motives of which I can no way account for. To be debarred of a liberty in which another is indulged may perhaps naturally excite some degree of shame or indignation; yet, when the dress of all is alike, what inferiority in appearance can any one be ashamed of? Of all kinds of shame, the worst, surely, is the being ashamed of frugality or of poverty; but the law relieves you with regard to both; you want only that which it is unlawful for you to have.

This equalization, says the rich matron, is the very thing that I cannot endure. Why do not I make a figure, distinguished with gold and purple? Why is the poverty of others concealed under this cover of a law, so that it should be thought that, if the law permitted, they would have such things as they are not now able to procure? Romans, do you wish to excite among your wives an emulation of this sort, that the rich should wish to have what no other can have; and that the poor, lest they should be despised as such, should extend their expenses beyond their abilities? Be assured that when a woman once begins to be ashamed of what she ought not to be ashamed of, she will not be ashamed of what she ought. She who can, will purchase out of her own purse; she who cannot, will ask her husband.

Unhappy is the husband, both he who complies with the request, and he who does not; for what he will not give himself, another will. Now they openly solicit favors from other women's husbands; and, what is more, solicit a law and votes. From some they obtain them; although, with regard to you, your property, or your children, you would find it hard to obtain anything from them. If the law ceases to limit the expenses of your wife, you yourself will never be able to limit them. Do not suppose that the matter will hereafter be in the same state in which it was before the law was made on the subject. It is safer that a wicked man should never be accused than that he should be acquitted; and luxury, if it had never been meddled with, would be more tolerable than it will be, now, like a wild beast, irritated by having been chained and then let loose. My opinion is that the Oppian law ought on no account to be repealed. Whatever determination you may come to, I pray all the gods to prosper it.

CAIUS GRACCHUS



CAIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS, one of a Roman family of the Sempronian gens that gave to the State many citizens eminent for bravery, magnanimity, and patriotism. Caius and his famous brother Tiberius were sons of the noble Roman matron Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus, and in their youth were given a careful education under their widowed mother. Caius, the younger of the two brothers, was born about 158 B.C., and entering the political arena became a tribune of Rome in 123 B. C. He became radical, and almost socialistic in his views, and for a time gained the applause of the people by his distributions of grain at the expense of the State, and by depriving the nobles of their more important privileges. Influenced by his democratic opinions, he continued the Agrarian law passed by his brother Tiberius, and designed to supplant the then aristocratic republican form of government by the rule of a pure democracy. Though reëlected to the tribuneship in 122, he failed to secure the appointment in the following year, owing to his purpose of extending the rights of citizenship to the Latins, a projected measure which roused the opposition of all. In the conflict that ensued, Caius was slain, together with some thousands of his followers, the new consul, Opimius, at once beginning to repeal the laws enacted by Caius Gracchus.

SPEECH ON THE REVENUE

[The following fragment is from a speech made by Caius Gracchus to persuade the Roman people not to accept a measure prepared by Aufeius for an increase of the revenue.]

IF YOU choose, fellow Romans, to be guided by wisdom and to look into the matter, you will find that no one comes forward here without hope of reward. All of us who speak strive for something; we are actuated by a desire to carry off some recompense for our pains. I, myself, in urging you to increase your revenues, that you may the better look after your interests and the public weal, do not come here for nothing. It is not, however, money that I seek from you, but your good opinion and esteem. Those, on the other hand, who come here to dissuade you from accepting this proposed law, care not for your esteem, but Nicomedes' money. Those, too, who persuade you to accept the law, ask

not your good opinion, but money enough from Mithridates to buy some property. Those, moreover, who now sit silent in the same seats, are most eager in the quest of reward; for they accept rewards from all parties alike, deceiving them all equally. In thinking them above this, in thinking that they keep silent for some reason of their own, you are bestowing your good opinion upon them undeservedly; for all the while they are receiving bribes from the ambassadors of foreign kings. Their case reminds me of Demades and the tragic actor. The latter was boasting that a whole talent had been given him for a single play; whereupon Demades, the most eloquent orator of Athens, is reported to have said: "Does it seem wonderful to you that you have received a talent for speaking? For not speaking I have received ten talents from a king." So now yonder men have been richly rewarded for their silence.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

CRASSUS



UCIUS LUCINIUS CRASSUS, Roman orator and statesman, was born about the year 140 B. C., and died in 91 B. C. He was educated with care, and studied under Antipater, the jurist and historian of the Second Punic War. When he was but twenty-one he appeared in the Forum as an advocate in the prosecution of Carbo, and in the conduct of the case exhibited admirable candor and justice. In the year 95, while consul, he enacted a law compelling the allies who had hitherto passed as Roman citizens to return to their respective cities. This enactment rendered him unpopular, and by many he was considered to be the primary cause of the Social or Marsic war, which followed three years later. In 92, he became censor and ordered the school of Latin rhetoricians to be closed, regarding it as a dangerous innovation for the young. In 91, he delivered a speech in the Senate against Philippus, the consul, but his passionate vehemence on this occasion brought on a fever, of which he died seven days afterward. He was one of the greatest of Roman orators, but became notable chiefly through Cicero, who introduces him as one of the speakers in his "De Oratore." His sentences are short and well rounded, and his language a model of purity, accuracy, and elegance of expression. He had command of a vast store of argument and illustration, and the force and dignity of his utterances are apparent in what has come down to us of his orations.

SPEECH IN DEFENCE OF CNEIUS PLANCUS

[The following is the only remaining fragment of the speech in defence of Cneius Plancus against Marcus Brutus.]

BRUTUS, why do you sit silent? What message will you have that old woman bring to your father; to all those whose images you see carried in solemn procession; to your ancestors; to Lucius Brutus, who freed our country from the tyranny of kings? What shall she say that you are doing? That you are engaged in the pursuit of glory, or of virtue? That you are increasing your patrimony? But that is not characteristic of nobility. Nothing is left of it; your dissipation has consumed the whole estate. Shall she announce that you are interested in the civil law? That is

your father's province. Shall she say that, when you sold your house, you did not even reserve your father's chair among the minerals and timber of the estate? Shall she tell them that the art of war engages you who never saw a camp? Or eloquence, of which you do not possess a spark? What little voice and power of speech you have, you have devoted entirely to the foul business of calumny. Do you dare to look upon the light of day; to gaze upon the faces of these men; to appear in the Forum, in the city, in the sight of your fellow citizens? Do you not shudder at that dead woman; at those sacred images, for whom you have left no repository?

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

CATILINE



UCIUS SERGIUS CATILINA (CATILINE), Roman politician and conspirator, was born of an ancient but impoverished patrician family about the year 108 B. C., and was killed in the battle of Fœsulæ (Fiesole), Italy, in the year 62 B. C. From his youth up he was licentious, vicious, and cruel, and achieved notoriety not only by the conspiracy against the Roman republic which he organized, but in which he was thwarted by the vigilance and eloquence of Cicero, who was consul at the time, but by his inhuman villainy in the killing of political opponents with his own hands. In spite of his unsavory reputation, he was elected prætor in 68 B. C., and afterward governor of Africa. Following this he aspired to the consulship, but in this he was defeated, when he then sought to assassinate Cicero. Securing the support of the baser class of Romans, he again menaced the peace of the state, but his intentions were once more frustrated through the vigilance of Cicero, who delivered against him in the Senate three powerful orations. Catiline was present on the delivery of the first, on Nov. 8, 63 B. C., and made an attempt at reply, but his words were drowned by loud cries of "Traitor!" "Parricide!" On the next night he fled from Rome to the camp of his accomplice, Manlius, then at the head of an army in Etruria. The armies of the state were now sent against his forces, and Catiline was defeated and slain, in the year 62 B. C., in the battle that ensued.

SPEECH TO THE CONSPIRATORS

[When plotting his famous conspiracy Catiline on one occasion summoned his fellow conspirators to a general conference at his own house, where he delivered the following address:]

IF YOUR courage and fidelity had not been sufficiently proved by me, this favorable opportunity would have occurred to no purpose; mighty hopes, absolute power, would in vain be within our grasp; nor should I, depending on irresolution or fickle-mindedness, pursue contingencies instead of certainties. But as I have, on many remarkable occasions, experienced your bravery and attachment to me, I have ventured to engage in a most important and glorious enterprise. I am aware, too, that whatever advantages or evils affect you, the same affect me; and to have the same desires and the same aversions is assuredly a firm bond of friendship.

What I have been meditating you have already heard separately. But my ardor for action is daily more and more excited when I consider what our future condition of life must be unless we ourselves assert our claims to liberty. For since the government has fallen under the power and jurisdiction of a few, kings and princes have constantly been their tributaries; nations and states have paid them taxes; but all the rest of us, however brave and worthy, whether noble or plebeian, have been regarded as a mere mob, without interest or authority, and subject to those to whom, if the state were in a sound condition, we should be a terror. Hence all influence, power, honor, and wealth, are in their hands, or where they dispose of them; to us they have left only insults, dangers, persecutions, and poverty. To such indignities, O bravest of men, how long will you submit? Is it not better to die in a glorious attempt, than, after having been the sport of other men's insolence, to resign a wretched and degraded existence with ignominy?

But success (I call gods and men to witness!) is in our own hands. Our years are fresh, our spirit is unbroken; among our oppressors, on the contrary, through age and wealth a general debility has been produced. We have, therefore, only to make a beginning; the course of events will accomplish the rest.

Who in the world, indeed, that has the feelings of a man, can endure that they should have a superfluity of riches, to squander in building over seas and levelling mountains, and that means should be wanting to us even for the necessities of life; that they should join together two houses or more, and that we should not have a hearth to call our own? They, though they purchase pictures, statues, and embossed plate; though they pull down new buildings and erect others, and

lavish and abuse their wealth in every possible method, yet cannot, with the utmost efforts of caprice, exhaust it. But for us there is poverty at home, debts abroad; our present circumstances are bad, our prospects much worse; and what, in a word, have we left, but a miserable existence?

Will you not, then, awake to action? Behold that liberty, that liberty for which you have so often wished, with wealth, honor, and glory, are set before your eyes. All these prizes fortune offers to the victorious. Let the enterprise itself, then, let the opportunity, let your property, your dangers, and the glorious spoils of war, animate you far more than my words. Use me either as your leader or your fellow soldier; neither my heart nor my hand shall be wanting to you. These objects I hope to effect, in concert with you, in the character of consul; unless, indeed, my expectation deceives me, and you prefer to be slaves rather than masters.

SPEECH TO HIS TROOPS

[Before engaging in the battle in which he was finally defeated and slain, Catiline assembled his troops and addressed them in the following manner:]

I AM well aware, soldiers, that words cannot inspire courage, and that a spiritless army cannot be rendered active, or a timid army valiant, by the speech of its commander. Whatever courage is in the heart of a man, whether from nature or from habit, so much will be shown by him in the field; and on him whom neither glory nor danger can move, exhortation is bestowed in vain; for the terror in his breast stops his ears.

I have called you together, however, to give you a few instructions, and to explain to you, at the same time, my

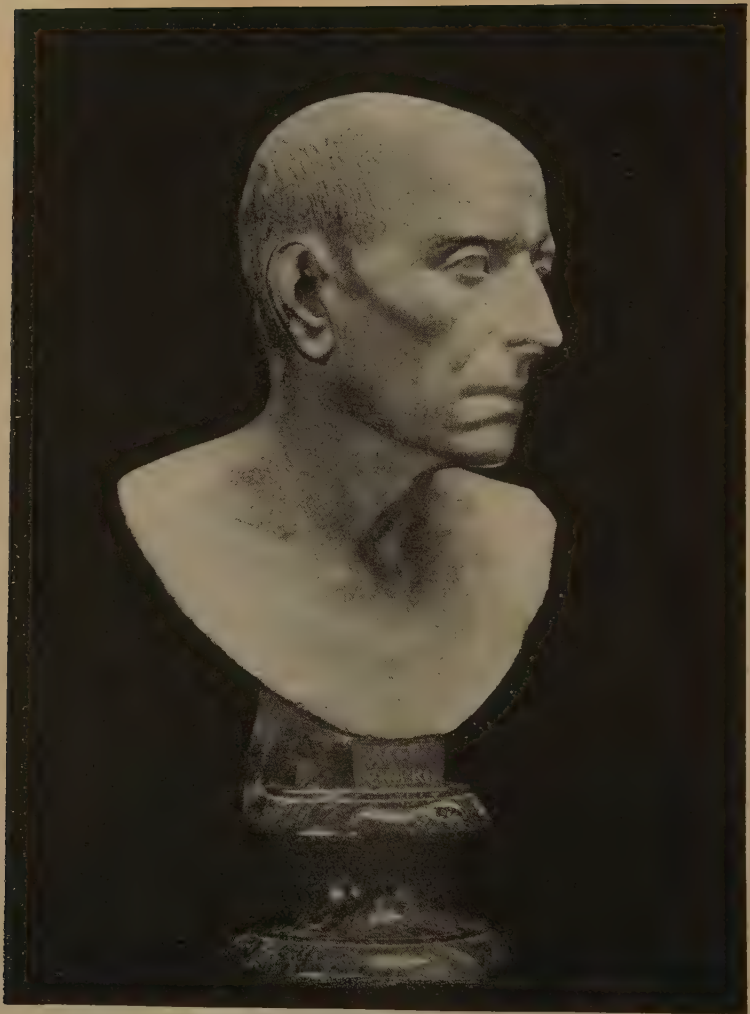
reasons for the course which I have adopted. You all know, soldiers, how severe a penalty the inactivity and cowardice of Lentulus has brought upon himself and us; and how, while waiting for reinforcements from the city, I was unable to march into Gaul. In what situation our affairs now are, you all understand as well as myself. Two armies of the enemy, one on the side of Rome and the other on that of Gaul, oppose our progress; while the want of corn and of other necessaries prevents us from remaining, however strongly we may desire to remain, in our present position. Whithersoever we would go, we must open a passage with our swords. I conjure you, therefore, to maintain a brave and resolute spirit; and to remember, when you advance to battle, that on your own right hands depend riches, honor, and glory, with the enjoyment of your liberty and of your country. If we conquer, all will be safe; we shall have provisions in abundance; and the colonies and corporate towns will open their gates to us. But if we lose the victory through want of courage, those same places will turn against us; for neither place nor friend will protect him whom his arms have not protected. Besides, soldiers, the same exigency does not press upon our adversaries as presses upon us; we fight for our country, for our liberty, for our life; they contend for what but little concerns them, the power of a small party. Attack them, therefore, with so much the greater confidence, and call to mind your achievements of old.

We might, with the utmost ignominy, have passed the rest of our days in exile. Some of you, after losing your property, might have waited at Rome for assistance from others. But because such a life, to men of spirit, was disgusting and unendurable, you resolved upon your present course. If you wish to quit it, you must exert all your resolution, for none

but conquerors have exchanged war for peace. To hope for safety in flight when you have turned away from the enemy the arms by which the body is defended is indeed madness. In battle those who are most afraid are always in most danger; but courage is equivalent to a rampart.

When I contemplate you, soldiers, and when I consider your past exploits, a strong hope of victory animates me. Your spirit, your age, your valor, give me confidence; to say nothing of necessity, which makes even cowards brave. To prevent the numbers of the enemy from surrounding us, our confined situation is sufficient. But should Fortune be unjust to your valor, take care not to lose your lives unavenged; take care not to be taken and butchered like cattle, rather than, fighting like men, to leave to your enemies a bloody and mournful victory.

[Translated from Sallust by Rev. John Selby Watson, M.A.]



CICERO

CICERO



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, a Roman orator, practically above all rivalry, and celebrated also as a statesman, eloquent pleader, and man of letters, was born of a family belonging to the equestrian order at Arpinum, under the Volscian Hills, on Jan. 3, 106 B.C. He had a wide and liberal education, under both Roman and Greek teachers, was well read in the literature and oratory of both languages, versed in philosophy, and familiar with law. His natural abilities were great, and his personal character was stainless; while in private life he was virtuous, amiable, and kindly disposed. As a youth, he moreover picked up under Sulla a knowledge of military tactics, but soon returned to philosophic studies and to those courses of training in elocution and oratory that would best fit him for the profession of pleader and public declaimer. At the early age of twenty-five he met with success in the latter field, and two years later he secured the acquittal of one of Sulla's favorites, named Roscius, who was accused of parricide. After a brief sojourn in Athens and Asia Minor, he returned to Rome, and in 76 B.C. was elected quæstor in Sicily, which was followed by his famous impeachment of Verres for maladministration in Sicily, an indictment so effective, yet stately, that it raised the young orator to a high pinnacle at the bar, and paved the way for future triumphs and professional preferment. In 69 B.C. he was elected to the office of ædile, in 66 to that of prætor, and in 64 he was returned by acclamation to the office of consul. We now come to a crisis in his life, his suppression during his consulate of the conspiracy of Catiline, who had been a candidate with him for the consulship. For this patriotic act he received the thanks of the people and was hailed "Father of his Country"; but the putting of the conspirators to death without formal trial brought upon him trouble from Clodius, a personal enemy of Cicero, who, when Cæsar became master at Rome, revived his charge against the orator and had him banished for a year, in 58-57 B.C. On his return, Cicero weakly bore himself towards Cæsar and Pompey, and thereby subjected himself to contumely and indignity, besides marring his reputation as a patriot. Despite his obsequiousness to Cæsar, he gained repute as an orator, and recovered fame by the independence he temporarily showed in the defence of Milo, as well as by his other masterly orations and writings. In 53, he was elected to the College of Augurs, and in 52-50 was appointed governor of Cilicia, returning to Rome at the outbreak of the civil war. In the war he showed his wonted vacillation, at first espousing the side of Pompey, and later on forsaking his standard and playing the courtier to Cæsar. A brief period of retirement he spent in the production of a number of his

important writings, which brings us in the life of Cicero to the year 44 B. C. and to the epoch of the murder of Cæsar. This foul act brought Cicero to the Senate, where with much energy and eloquence he fulminated against Antony and the slayers of Cæsar, in a series of orations known as *Philippics*. This after the triumvirate was formed, of Antony, Octavius, and Lepidus, was fatal to Cicero, for his name was placed on the proscribed list, and though the orator fled, he was overtaken by the emissaries of Antony, and his head, as he thrust it out of the litter on which he was borne, was severed from his body. This occurred Dec. 7, 48 B. C., when Cicero was in his sixty-third year. His head and his hands were brought to Rome, where they were affixed to the Rostra, and, as the story goes, the wife of Antony transixed with her bodkin the tongue of the orator that had declaimed so fiercely against her husband. Fortunately most of Cicero's writings have come down to us, and they form a great body of magnificent literature. Among his chief writings are, besides the charming essay on Friendship (*De Amicitia*), and the dialogue on Old Age (*De Senectute*), the *Tusculan Disputations*, the *Republic*, the treatises on Moral Duties, the *Academics*, and the *Nature of the Gods*, with *De Finibus*, the best of his philosophical writings, and *De Legibus*, a discussion of moral, natural, and civil law. His letters are moreover valuable as throwing light on the annals of the time. "The essay, *De Officiis*, one of Cicero's later philosophical dissertations, inculcates the Stoical principles of moral duty, illustrating them with the finest skill and liveliness; and the *Tusculan Questions*, the most delightful of all his speculative writings, discuss, in the form of dialogues held at Cicero's villa near Tusculum, some of the most important topics, religious and moral,—the duty of subduing the fear of death, of enduring pain and sorrow with courage, of overcoming passion, and of believing in the all-sufficiency of virtue to secure genuine happiness." His important works are his correspondence, his orations, his treatises on rhetoric, and his philosophic dissertations. His philosophic writings are those by which he has most benefited his own and subsequent ages. They nearly equal in bulk the collection of his speeches, and traverse a wide field of speculative thought.

THE FIRST ORATION AGAINST LUCIUS CATILINE

THE ARGUMENT

LUCIUS CATILINE, a man of noble extraction, and who had already been prætor, had been a competitor of Cicero's for the consulship; the next year he again offered himself for the office, practicing such excessive and open bribery, that Cicero published a new law against it, with the additional penalty of ten years' exile; prohibiting likewise all shows of gladiators from being exhibited by a candidate within two years of the time of his suing for any magistracy, unless they were ordered by the will of a person deceased. Catiline, who knew this law to be aimed chiefly at him, formed a design to murder Cicero and some others of the chief men of the senate, on the day of election, which was fixed for

the twentieth of October. But Cicero had information of his plans, and laid them before the senate, on which the election was deferred, that they might have time to deliberate on an affair of so much importance. The day following, when the senate met, he charged Catiline with having entertained this design, and Catiline's behavior had been so violent that the senate passed the decree to which they had occasionally recourse in times of imminent danger from treason or sedition: "Let the consuls take care that the republic suffers no harm." This decree invested the consuls with absolute power, and suspended all the ordinary forms of law, till the danger was over. On this Cicero doubled his guards, introduced some additional troops into the city, and when the elections came on, he wore a breastplate under his robe for his protection; by which precaution he prevented Catiline from executing his design of murdering him and his competitors for the consulship, of whom Decius Junius Silanus and Lucius Licinius Murena were elected. Catiline was rendered desperate by this his second defeat, and resolved without further delay to attempt the execution of all his schemes. His greatest hopes lay in Sylla's veteran soldiers, whose cause he had always espoused. They were scattered about in the different districts and colonies of Italy; but he had actually enlisted a considerable body of them in Etruria, and formed them into a little army under the command of Manlius, a centurion of considerable military experience, who was only waiting for his orders. He was joined in his conspiracy by several senators of profligate lives and desperate fortunes, of whom the chiefs were Publius Cornelius Lentulus, Caius Cethegus, Publius Autronius, Lucius Cassius Longinus, Marcus Porcius Lecca, Publius Sylla, Servillius Sylla, Quintus Curius, Lucius Vargunteius, Quintus Annius, and Lucius Bestia. These men resolved that a general insurrection should be raised throughout all Italy; that Catiline should put himself at the head of the troops in Etruria; that Rome should be set on fire in many places at once; and that a general massacre should be made of all the senate, and of all their enemies, of whom none was to be spared but the sons of Pompey, who were to be kept as hostages, and as a check upon their father, who was in command in the East. Lentulus was to be president of their councils, Cassius was to manage the firing of the city, and Cethegus the massacre. But, as the vigilance of Cicero was the greatest obstacle to their success, Catiline desired to see him slain before he left Rome; and two knights, parties to the conspiracy, undertook to visit him early on pretence of business, and to kill him in his bed. The name of one of them was Caius Cornelius. Cicero, however, had information of all the designs of the conspirators, as by the intrigues of a woman called Fulvia, the mistress of Curius, he had gained him over, and received regularly from him an account of all their operations. He sent for some of the chief men of the city, and informed them of the plot against himself, and even of the names of the

knights who were to come to his house, and of the hour at which they were to come. When they did come they found the house carefully guarded and all admission refused to them. He was enabled also to disappoint an attempt made by Catiline to seize on the town of Præneste, which was a very strong fortress, and would have been of great use to him. The meeting of the conspirators had taken place on the evening of the sixth of November. On the eighth Cicero summoned the senate to meet in the temple of Jupiter in the Capitol, a place which was only used for this purpose on occasions of great danger. (There had been previously several debates on the subject of Catiline's treasons and design of murdering Cicero, and a public reward had actually been offered to the first discoverer of the plot. But Catiline had, nevertheless, continued to dissemble; had offered to give security for his behavior, and to deliver himself to the custody of any one whom the senate chose to name, even to that of Cicero himself.) Catiline had the boldness to attend this meeting, and all the senate, even his own most particular acquaintance, were so astonished at his impudence that none of them would salute him; the consular senators quitted that part of the house in which he sat, and left the bench empty; and Cicero himself was so provoked at his audacity, that, instead of entering on any formal business, he addressed himself directly to Catiline in the following invective.

WHEN, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now? Do not the mighty guards placed on the Palatine Hill—do not the watches posted throughout the city—does not the alarm of the people, and the union of all good men—does not the precaution taken of assembling the senate in this most defensible place—do not the looks and countenances of this venerable body here present, have any effect upon you? Do you not feel that your plans are detected? Do you not see that your conspiracy is already arrested and rendered powerless by the knowledge which every one here possesses of it? What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to

meet you—what design was there which was adopted by you, with which you think that any one of us is unacquainted?

Shame on the age and on its principles! The senate is aware of these things; the consul sees them; and yet this man lives. Lives! ay, he comes even into the senate. He takes a part in the public deliberations; he is watching and marking down and checking off for slaughter every individual among us. And we, gallant men that we are, think that we are doing our duty to the republic if we keep out of the way of his frenzied attacks.

You ought, O Catiline, long ago to have been led to execution by command of the counsel. That destruction which you have been long plotting against us ought to have already fallen on your own head.

What? Did not that most illustrious man, Publius Scipio, the Pontifex Maximus, in his capacity of a private citizen, put to death Tiberius Gracchus, though but slightly undermining the constitution? And shall we, who are the consuls, tolerate Catiline, openly desirous to destroy the whole world with fire and slaughter? For I pass over older instances, such as how Caius Servilius Ahala with his own hand slew Spurius Mælius when plotting a revolution in the state. There was—there was once such virtue in this republic that brave men would repress mischievous citizens with severer chastisement than the most bitter enemy. For we have a resolution of the senate, a formidable and authoritative decree against you, O Catiline; the wisdom of the republic is not at fault, nor the dignity of this senatorial body. We, we alone—I say it openly—we, the consuls, are wanting in our duty.

The senate once passed a decree that Lucius Opimius,

the consul, should take care that the republic suffered no injury. Not one night elapsed. There was put to death, on some mere suspicion of disaffection, Caius Gracchus, a man whose family had borne the most unblemished reputation for many generations. There was slain Marcus Fulvius, a man of consular rank, and all his children. By a like decree of the senate the safety of the republic was intrusted to Caius Marius and Lucius Valerius, the consuls. Did not the vengeance of the republic, did not execution overtake Lucius Saturninus, a tribune of the people, and Caius Servilius, the prætor, without the delay of one single day? But we, for these twenty days, have been allowing the edge of the senate's authority to grow blunt, as it were. For we are in possession of a similar decree of the senate, but we keep it locked up in its parchment—buried, I may say, in the sheath; and according to this decree you ought, O Catiline, to be put to death this instant. You live—and you live, not to lay aside, but to persist in your audacity.

I wish, O conscript fathers, to be merciful; I wish not to appear negligent amid such danger to the state; but I do now accuse myself of remissness and culpable inactivity. A camp is pitched in Italy, at the entrance of Etruria, in hostility to the republic; the number of the enemy increases every day; and yet the general of that camp, the leader of those enemies, we see within the walls—ay, and even in the senate—planning every day some internal injury to the republic. If, O Catiline, I should now order you to be arrested, to be put to death, I should, I suppose, have to fear lest all good men should say that I had acted tardily, rather than that any one should affirm that I acted cruelly. But yet this, which ought to have been done long since, I have good reason for not doing as yet; I will put

you to death, then, when there shall be not one person possible to be found so wicked, so abandoned, so like yourself, as not to allow that it has been rightly done. As long as one person exists who can dare to defend you, you shall live; but you shall live as you do now, surrounded by my many and trusted guards, so that you shall not be able to stir one finger against the republic: many eyes and ears shall still observe and watch you, as they have hitherto done, though you shall not perceive them.

For what is there, O Catiline, that you can still expect, if night is not able to veil your nefarious meetings in darkness, and if private houses cannot conceal the voice of your conspiracy within their walls—if everything is seen and displayed? Change your mind: trust me: forget the slaughter and conflagration you are meditating. You are hemmed in on all sides; all your plans are clearer than the day to us; let me remind you of them. Do you recollect that on the 21st of October I said in the senate, that on a certain day, which was to be the 27th of October, C. Manlius, the satellite and servant of your audacity, would be in arms? Was I mistaken, Catiline, not only in so important, so atrocious, so incredible a fact, but, what is much more remarkable, in the very day? I said also in the senate that you had fixed the massacre of the nobles for the 28th of October, when many chief men of the senate had left Rome, not so much for the sake of saving themselves as of checking your designs. Can you deny that on that very day you were so hemmed in by my guards and my vigilance, that you were unable to stir one finger against the republic; when you said that you would be content with the flight of the rest, and the slaughter of us who remained? What? when you made sure that you would be able to

seize Præneste on the 1st of November by a nocturnal attack, did you not find that that colony was fortified by my order, by my garrison, by my watchfulness and care? You do nothing, you plan nothing, think of nothing which I not only do not hear but which I do not see and know every particular of.

Listen while I speak of the night before. You shall now see that I watch far more actively for the safety than you do for the destruction of the republic. I say that you came the night before (I will say nothing obscurely) into the Scythe-dealers' street, to the house of Marcus Lecca; that many of your accomplices in the same insanity and wickedness came there, too. Do you dare to deny it? Why are you silent? I will prove it if you do deny it; for I see here in the senate some men who were there with you.

O ye immortal gods, where on earth are we? in what city are we living? what constitution is ours? There are here—here in our body, O conscript fathers, in this the most holy and dignified assembly of the whole world, men who meditate my death, and the death of all of us, and the destruction of this city, and of the whole world. I, the consul, see them; I ask them their opinion about the republic, and I do not yet attack, even by words, those who ought to be put to death by the sword. You were, then, O Catiline, at Lecca's that night; you divided Italy into sections; you settled where every one was to go; you fixed whom you were to leave at Rome, whom you were to take with you; you portioned out the divisions of the city for conflagration; you undertook that you yourself would at once leave the city, and said that there was then only this to delay you, that I was still alive. Two Roman

knights were found to deliver you from this anxiety, and to promise that very night, before daybreak, to slay me in my bed. All this I knew almost before your meeting had broken up. I strengthened and fortified my house with a stronger guard; I refused admittance, when they came, to those whom you sent in the morning to salute me, and of whom I had foretold to many eminent men that they would come to me at that time.

As, then, this is the case, O Catiline, continue as you have begun. Leave the city at last: the gates are open; depart. That Manlian camp of yours has been waiting too long for you as its general. And lead forth with you all your friends, or at least as many as you can; purge the city of your presence; you will deliver me from a great fear, when there is a wall between me and you. Among us you can dwell no longer—I will not bear it, I will not permit it, I will not tolerate it. Great thanks are due to the immortal gods, and to this very Jupiter Stator, in whose temple we are, the most ancient protector of this city, that we have already so often escaped so foul, so horrible, and so deadly an enemy to the republic. But the safety of the commonwealth must not be too often allowed to be risked on one man. As long as you, O Catiline, plotted against me while I was the consul elect, I defended myself not with a public guard, but by my own private diligence. When, in the next consular comitia, you wished to slay me when I was actually consul, and your competitors also, in the Campus Martius, I checked your nefarious attempt by the assistance and resources of my own friends, without exciting any disturbance publicly. In short, as often as you attacked me, I by myself opposed you, and that, too, though I saw that my ruin was connected with great dis-

aster to the republic. But now you are openly attacking the entire republic.

You are summoning to destruction and devastation the temples of the immortal gods, the houses of the city, the lives of all the citizens; in short, all Italy. Wherefore, since I do not yet venture to do that which is the best thing, and which belongs to my office and to the discipline of our ancestors, I will do that which is more merciful if we regard its rigor, and more expedient for the state. For if I order you to be put to death, the rest of the conspirators will still remain in the republic; if, as I have long been exhorting you, you depart, your companions, these worthless dregs of the republic, will be drawn off from the city too. What is the matter, Catiline? Do you hesitate to do that when I order you which you were already doing of your own accord? The consul orders an enemy to depart from the city. Do you ask me, Are you to go into banishment? I do not order it; but, if you consult me, I advise it.

For what is there, O Catiline, that can now afford you any pleasure in this city? for there is no one in it, except that band of profligate conspirators of yours, who does not fear you—no one who does not hate you. What brand of domestic baseness is not stamped upon your life? What disgraceful circumstance is wanting to your infamy in your private affairs? From what licentiousness have your eyes, from what atrocity have your hands, from what iniquity has your whole body ever abstained? Is there one youth, when you have once entangled him in the temptations of your corruption, to whom you have not held out a sword for audacious crime, or a torch for licentious wickedness?

What? when lately by the death of your former wife

you had made your house empty and ready for a new bridal, did you not even add another incredible wickedness to this wickedness? But I pass that over, and willingly allow it to be buried in silence, that so horrible a crime may not be seen to have existed in this city, and not to have been chastised. I pass over the ruin of your fortune, which you know is hanging over you against the ides of the very next month; I come to those things which relate not to the infamy of your private vices, not to your domestic difficulties and baseness, but to the welfare of the republic and to the lives and safety of us all.

Can the light of this life, O Catiline, can the breath of this atmosphere be pleasant to you, when you know that there is not one man of those here present who is ignorant that you, on the last day of the year, when Lepidus and Tullus were consuls, stood in the assembly armed; that you had prepared your hand for the slaughter of the consuls and chief men of the state, and that no reason or fear of yours hindered your crime and madness, but the fortune of the republic? And I say no more of these things, for they are not unknown to every one. How often have you endeavored to slay me, both as consul-elect and as actual consul? how many shots of yours, so aimed that they seemed impossible to be escaped, have I avoided by some slight stooping aside, and some dodging, as it were, of my body? You attempt nothing, you execute nothing, you devise nothing that can be kept hid from me at the proper time; and yet you do not cease to attempt and to contrive. How often already has that dagger of yours been wrested from your hands? how often has it slipped through them by some chance, and dropped down? and yet you cannot any longer do without it; and to what sacred mysteries it

is consecrated and devoted by you I know not, that you think it necessary to plunge it in the body of the consul.

But now, what is that life of yours that you are leading? For I will speak to you not so as to seem influenced by the hatred I ought to feel, but by pity, nothing of which is due to you. You came a little while ago into the senate: in so numerous an assembly, who of so many friends and connections of yours saluted you? If this in the memory of man never happened to any one else, are you waiting for insults by word of mouth, when you are overwhelmed by the most irresistible condemnation of silence? Is it nothing that at your arrival all those seats were vacated? that all the men of consular rank, who had often been marked out by you for slaughter, the very moment you sat down, left that part of the benches bare and vacant? With what feelings do you think you ought to bear this? On my honor, if my slaves feared me as all your fellow-citizens fear you, I should think I must leave my house. Do not you think you should leave the city? If I saw that I was even undeservedly so suspected and hated by my fellow-citizens, I would rather flee from their sight than be gazed at by the hostile eyes of every one. And do you, who, from the consciousness of your wickedness, know that the hatred of all men is just and has been long due to you, hesitate to avoid the sight and presence of those men whose minds and senses you offend? If your parents feared and hated you, and if you could by no means pacify them, you would, I think, depart somewhere out of their sight. Now your country, which is the common parent of all of us, hates and fears you, and has no other opinion of you than that you are meditating parricide in her case; and will you

neither feel awe of her authority, nor deference for her judgment, nor fear of her power?

And she, O Catiline, thus pleads with you, and after a manner silently speaks to you: There has now for many years been no crime committed but by you; no atrocity has taken place without you; you alone unpunished and unquestioned have murdered the citizens, have harassed and plundered the allies; you alone have had power not only to neglect all laws and investigations, but to overthrow and break through them. Your former actions, though they ought not to have been borne, yet I did bear as well as I could; but now that I should be wholly occupied with fear of you alone, that at every sound I should dread Catiline, that no design should seem possible to be entertained against me which does not proceed from your wickedness, this is no longer endurable. Depart, then, and deliver me from this fear; that, if it be a just one, I may not be destroyed; if an imaginary one, that at least I may at last cease to fear.

If, as I have said, your country were thus to address you, ought she not to obtain her request, even if she were not able to enforce it? What shall I say of your having given yourself into custody? what of your having said, for the sake of avoiding suspicion, that you were willing to dwell in the house of Marcus Lepidus? And when you were not received by him, you dared even to come to me, and begged me to keep you in my house; and when you had received answer from me that I could not possibly be safe in the same house with you, when I considered myself in great danger as long as we were in the same city, you came to Quintus Metellus, the prætor, and being rejected by him, you passed on to your associate, that most excel-

lent man, Marcus Marcellus, who would be, I suppose you thought, most diligent in guarding you, most sagacious in suspecting you, and most bold in punishing you; but how far can we think that man ought to be from bonds and imprisonment who has already judged himself deserving of being given into custody?

Since, then, this is the case, do you hesitate, O Catiline, if you cannot remain here with tranquillity, to depart to some distant land, and to trust your life, saved from just and deserved punishment, to flight and solitude? Make a motion, say you, to the senate (for that is what you demand), and if this body votes that you ought to go into banishment, you say that you will obey. I will not make such a motion, it is contrary to my principles, and yet I will let you see what these men think of you. Begone from the city, O Catiline, deliver the republic from fear; depart into banishment, if that is the word you are waiting for. What now, O Catiline? Do you not perceive, do you not see the silence of these men? they permit it, they say nothing; why wait you for the authority of their words, when you see their wishes in their silence?

But had I said the same to this worthy young man, Publius Sextius, or to that brave man, Marcus Marcellus, before this time the senate would deservedly have laid violent hands on me, consul though I be, in this very temple. But as to you, Catiline, while they are quiet they approve, while they permit me to speak they vote, while they are silent they are loud and eloquent. And not they alone, whose authority forsooth is dear to you, though their lives are unimportant, but the Roman knights, too, those most honorable and excellent men, and the other virtuous citizens who are now surrounding the senate, whose numbers you could see, whose

desires you could know, and whose voices you a few minutes ago could hear—ay, whose very hands and weapons I have for some time been scarcely able to keep off from you; but those, too, I will easily bring to attend you to the gates if you leave these places you have been long desiring to lay waste.

And yet, why am I speaking? that anything may change your purpose? that you may ever amend your life? that you may meditate flight or think of voluntary banishment? I wish the gods may give you such a mind; though I see, if alarmed at my words you bring your mind to go into banishment, what a storm of unpopularity hangs over me, if not at present, while the memory of your wickedness is fresh, at all events hereafter. But it is worth while to incur that, as long as that is but a private misfortune of my own, and is unconnected with the dangers of the republic. But we cannot expect that you should be concerned at your own vices, that you should fear the penalties of the laws, or that you should yield to the necessities of the republic, for you are not, O Catiline, one whom either shame can recall from infamy, or fear from danger, or reason from madness.

Wherefore, as I have said before, go forth, and if you wish to make me, your enemy as you call me, unpopular, go straight into banishment. I shall scarcely be able to endure all that will be said if you do so; I shall scarcely be able to support my load of unpopularity if you do go into banishment at the command of the consul; but if you wish to serve my credit and reputation, go forth with your ill-omened band of profligates; betake yourself to Manlius, rouse up the abandoned citizens, separate yourself from the good ones, wage war against your country, exult in your

impious banditti, so that you may not seem to have been driven out by me and gone to strangers, but to have gone invited to your friends.

Though why should I invite you, by whom I know men have been already sent on to wait in arms for you at the forum Aurelium; who I know has fixed and agreed with Manlius upon a settled day; by whom I know that that silver eagle, which I trust will be ruinous and fatal to you and to all your friends, and to which there was set up in your house a shrine, as it were, of your crimes, has been already sent forward. Need I fear that you can long do without that which you used to worship when going out to murder, and from whose altars you have often transferred your impious hand to the slaughter of citizens?

You will go at last where your unbridled and mad desire has been long hurrying you. And this causes you no grief, but an incredible pleasure. Nature has formed you, desire has trained you, fortune has preserved you for this insanity. Not only did you never desire quiet, but you never even desired any war but a criminal one; you have collected a band of profligates and worthless men, abandoned not only by all fortune but even by hope.

Then what happiness will you enjoy! with what delight will you exult! in what pleasure will you revel! when in so numerous a body of friends you neither hear nor see one good man. All the toils you have gone through have always pointed to this sort of life; your lying on the ground not merely to lie in wait to gratify your unclean desires, but even to accomplish crimes; your vigilance, not only when plotting against the sleep of husbands, but also against the goods of your murdered victims, have all been preparations for this. Now you have an opportunity of displaying your

splendid endurance of hunger, of cold, of want of everything; by which in a short time you will find yourself worn out. All this I effected when I procured your rejection from the consulship, that you should be reduced to make attempts on your country as an exile, instead of being able to distress it as consul, and that that which had been wickedly undertaken by you should be called piracy rather than war.

Now that I may remove and avert, O conscript fathers, any in the least reasonable complaint from myself, listen, I beseech you, carefully to what I say, and lay it up in your inmost hearts and minds. In truth, if my country, which is far dearer to me than my life—if all Italy—if the whole republic were to address me, “Marcus Tullius, what are you doing? will you permit that man to depart whom you have ascertained to be an enemy? whom you see ready to become the general of the war? whom you know to be expected in the camp of the enemy as their chief, the author of all this wickedness, the head of the conspiracy, the instigator of the slaves and abandoned citizens, so that he shall seem not driven out of the city by you, but let loose by you against the city? Will you not order him to be thrown into prison, to be hurried off to execution, to be put to death with the most prompt severity? What hinders you? is it the customs of our ancestors? But even private men have often in this republic slain mischievous citizens. Is it the laws which have been passed about the punishment of Roman citizens? But in this city those who have rebelled against the republic have never had the rights of citizens. Do you fear odium with posterity? You are showing fine gratitude to the Roman people which has raised you, a man known only by your own actions, of no

ancestral renown, through all the degrees of honor at so early an age to the very highest office, if from fear of unpopularity or of any danger you neglect the safety of your fellow-citizens. But if you have a fear of unpopularity, is that arising from the imputation of vigor and boldness, or that arising from that of inactivity and indecision most to be feared? When Italy is laid waste by war, when cities are attacked and houses in flames, do you not think that you will be then consumed by a perfect conflagration of hatred?

To this holy address of the republic, and to the feelings of those men who entertain the same opinion, I will make this short answer: If, O conscript fathers, I thought it best that Catiline should be punished with death, I would not have given the space of one hour to this gladiator to live in. If, forsooth, those excellent men and most illustrious cities not only did not pollute themselves, but even glorified themselves by the blood of Saturninus, and the Gracchi, and Flaccus, and many others of old time, surely I had no cause to fear lest for slaying this parricidal murderer of the citizens any unpopularity should accrue to me with posterity. And if it did threaten me to ever so great a degree, yet I have always been of the disposition to think unpopularity earned by virtue and glory not unpopularity.

Though there are some men in this body who either do not see what threatens, or dissemble what they do see; who have fed the hope of Catiline by mild sentiments, and have strengthened the rising conspiracy by not believing it; influenced by whose authority many, and they not wicked, but only ignorant, if I punished him would say that I had acted cruelly and tyrannically. But I know that if he arrives at the camp of Manlius to which he is going, there will be no one so stupid as not to see that there has been

a conspiracy, no one so hardened as not to confess it. But if this man alone were put to death, I know that this disease of the republic would be only checked for a while, not eradicated forever. But if he banishes himself, and takes with him all his friends, and collects at one point all the ruined men from every quarter, then not only will this full-grown plague of the republic be extinguished and eradicated, but also the root and seed of all future evils.

We have now for a long time, O conscript fathers, lived among these dangers and machinations of conspiracy; but somehow or other, the ripeness of all wickedness, and of this long-standing madness and audacity, has come to a head at the time of my consulship. But if this man alone is removed from this piratical crew, we may appear, perhaps, for a short time relieved from fear and anxiety, but the danger will settle down and lie hid in the veins and bowels of the republic. As it often happens that men afflicted with a severe disease, when they are tortured with heat and fever, if they drink cold water, seem at first to be relieved, but afterward suffer more and more severely; so this disease which is in the republic, if relieved by the punishment of this man, will only get worse and worse, as the rest will be still alive.

Wherefore, O conscript fathers, let the worthless be gone—let them separate themselves from the good—let them collect in one place—let them, as I have often said before, be separated from us by a wall; let them cease to plot against the consul in his own house—to surround the tribunal of the city prætor—to besiege the senate house with swords—to prepare brands and torches to burn the city; let it, in short, be written on the brow of every citizen what are his sentiments about the republic. I promise

you this, O conscript fathers, that there shall be so much diligence in us the consuls, so much authority in you, so much virtue in the Roman knights, so much unanimity in all good men, that you shall see everything made plain and manifest by the departure of Catiline—everything checked and punished.

With these omens, O Catiline, begone to your impious and nefarious war, to the great safety of the republic, to your own misfortune and injury, and to the destruction of those who have joined themselves to you in every wickedness and atrocity. Then do you, O Jupiter, who were consecrated by Romulus with the same auspices as this city, whom we rightly call the stay of this city and empire, repel this man and his companions from your altars and from the other temples—from the houses and walls of the city—from the lives and fortunes of all the citizens; and overwhelm all the enemies of good men, the foes of the republic, the robbers of Italy, men bound together by a treaty and infamous alliance of crimes, dead and alive, with eternal punishments.

THE SECOND ORATION AGAINST LUCIUS CATILINE

THE ARGUMENT

CATILINE did not venture to make any reply to the former speech, but he begged the senate not to be too hasty in believing everything which was said to his prejudice by one who had always been his enemy, as Cicero had; and alleged his high birth, and the stake which he had in the prosperity of the commonwealth, as arguments to make it appear improbable that he should seek to injure it; and called Cicero a stranger, and a new inhabitant of Rome. But the senate interrupted him with a general outcry, calling him traitor and parricide. Upon which, being rendered furious and desperate, he declared aloud what he had before said to Cato, that since he was circumvented and driven headlong by his enemies, he would quench the flame which his enemies were kindling around him in the common ruin. And so he rushed out of the temple. On his arrival at his own house he held a brief conference with the other conspirators, in which it was resolved that he should go at once to the camp of Manlius, and return as speedily as he could at the head of the army which was there awaiting him. Accordingly, that night he left Rome with a small retinue, and made the best of his way toward Etruria. His friends gave out that he had gone into voluntary banishment at Marseilles, and spread that report through the city the next morning, in order to excite odium against Cicero, as having driven him out without any trial or proof of his guilt. But Cicero was aware of his motions, and knew that he had previously sent a quantity of arms, and military ensigns, and especially a silver eagle which he had been used to keep in his own house with a superstitious reverence, because it had been used by the great Marius in his expedition against the Cimbri. However, he thought it desirable to counteract the story of his having gone into exile, and therefore summoned the people into the forum, and made them the following speech.

AT length, O Romans, we have dismissed from the city, or driven out, or, when he was departing of his own accord, we have pursued with words, Lucius Catiline, mad with audacity, breathing wickedness, impiously planning mischief to his country, threatening fire and sword

to you and to this city. He is gone, he has departed, he has disappeared, he has rushed out. No injury will now be prepared against these walls within the walls themselves by that monster and prodigy of wickedness. And we have, without controversy, defeated him, the sole general of this domestic war. For now that dagger will no longer hover about our sides; we shall not be afraid in the campus, in the forum, in the senate house—ay, and within our own private walls. He was moved from his place when he was driven from the city. Now we shall openly carry on a regular war with an enemy without hindrance. Beyond all question we ruin the man; we have defeated him splendidly when we have driven him from secret treachery into open warfare. But that he has not taken with him his sword red with blood as he intended—that he has left us alive—that we wrested the weapon from his hands—that he has left the citizens safe and the city standing, what great and overwhelming grief must you think that this is to him! Now he lies prostrate, O Romans, and feels himself stricken down and abject, and often casts back his eyes toward this city, which he mourns over as snatched from his jaws, but which seems to me to rejoice at having vomited forth such a pest, and cast it out of doors.

But if there be any one of that disposition which all men should have, who yet blames me greatly for the very thing in which my speech exults and triumphs—namely, that I did not arrest so capital mortal an enemy rather than let him go—that is not my fault, O citizens, but the fault of the times. Lucius Catiline ought to have been visited with the severest punishment, and to have been put to death long since; and both the customs of our ancestors, and the rigor of my office, and the republic, demanded this of me;

but how many think you, were there who did not believe what I reported? how many who out of stupidity did not think so? how many who even defended him? how many who, out of their own depravity, favored him? If, in truth, I had thought that, if he were removed, all danger would be removed from you, I would long since have cut off Lucius Catiline, had it been at the risk, not only of my popularity, but even of my life.

But as I saw that, since the matter was not even then proved to all of you, if I had punished him with death, as he had deserved, I should be borne down by unpopularity, and so be unable to follow up his accomplices, I brought the business on to this point that you might be able to combat openly when you saw the enemy without disguise. But how exceedingly I think the enemy to be feared now that he is out of doors, you may see from this—that I am vexed even that he has gone from the city with but a small retinue. I wish he had taken with him all his forces. He has taken with him Tongillus, with whom he had been said to have a criminal intimacy, and Publicius, and Munatius, whose debts contracted in taverns could cause no great disquietude to the republic. He has left behind him others—you all know what men they are, how overwhelmed with debt, how powerful, how noble.

Therefore, with our Gallic legions, and with the levies which Quintus Metellus has raised in the Picenian and Gallic territory, and with these troops which are every day being got ready by us, I thoroughly despise that army composed of desperate old men, of clownish profligates, and uneducated spendthrifts; of those who have preferred to desert their bail rather than that army, and which will fall to pieces if I show them not the battle array of our army,

but an edict of the prætor. I wish he had taken with him those soldiers of his, whom I see hovering about the forum, standing about the senate house, even coming into the senate, who shine with ointment, who glitter in purple; and if they remain here, remember that that army is not so much to be feared by us as these men who have deserted the army. And they are the more to be feared, because they are aware that I know what they are thinking of, and yet they are not influenced by it.

I know to whom Apulia has been allotted, who has Etruria, who the Picenian territory, who the Gallic district, who has begged for himself the office of spreading fire and sword by night through the city. They know that all the plans of the preceding night are brought to me. I laid them before the senate yesterday. Catiline himself was alarmed and fled. Why do these men wait? Verily, they are greatly mistaken if they think that former lenity of mine will last forever.

What I have been waiting for, that I have gained—namely, that you should all see that a conspiracy has been openly formed against the republic; unless, indeed, there be any one who thinks that those who are like Catiline do not agree with Catiline. There is not any longer room for lenity; the business itself demands severity. One thing, even now, I will grant—let them depart, let them begone. Let them not suffer the unhappy Catiline to pine away for want of them. I will tell them the road. He went by the Aurelian road. If they make haste, they will catch him by the evening. O happy republic, if it can cast forth these dregs of the republic! Even now, when Catiline alone is got rid of, the republic seems to me relieved and refreshed; for what evil or wicked-

ness can be devised or imagined which he did not conceive? What prisoner, what gladiator, what thief, what assassin, what parricide, what forger of wills, what cheat, what debauchee, what spendthrift, what adulterer, what abandoned woman, what corrupter of youth, what profligate, what scoundrel can be found in all Italy, who does not avow that he has been on terms of intimacy with Catiline? What murder has been committed for years without him? What nefarious act of infamy that has not been done by him?

But in what other man were there ever so many allurements for youth as in him, who both indulged in infamous love for others, and encouraged their infamous affections for himself, promising to some enjoyment of their lust, to others the death of their parents, and not only instigating them to iniquity, but even assisting them in it. But now, how suddenly had he collected, not only out of the city, but even out of the country, a number of abandoned men? No one, not only at Rome, but in every corner of Italy, was overwhelmed with debt whom he did not enlist in this incredible association of wickedness.

And, that you may understand the diversity of his pursuits, and the variety of his designs, there was no one in any school of gladiators, at all inclined to audacity, who does not avow himself to be an intimate friend of Catiline—no one on the stage, at all of a fickle and worthless disposition, who does not profess himself his companion. And he, trained in the practice of insult and wickedness, in enduring cold, and hunger, and thirst, and watching, was called a brave man by those fellows, while all the appliances of industry and instruments of virtue were devoted to lust and atrocity.

But if his companions follow him—if the infamous herd of desperate men depart from the city, O happy shall we be, fortunate will be the republic, illustrious will be the renown of my consulship. For theirs is no ordinary insolence—no common and endurable audacity. They think of nothing but slaughter, conflagration and rapine. They have dissipated their patrimonies, they have squandered their fortunes. Money has long failed them, and now credit begins to fail; but the same desires remain which they had in their time of abundance. But if in their drinking and gambling parties they were content with feasts and harlots, they would be in a hopeless state indeed; but yet they might be endured. But who can bear this—that indolent men should plot against the bravest; drunkards against the sober; men asleep against men awake; men lying at feasts, embracing abandoned women, languid with wine, crammed with food, crowned with chaplets, reeking with ointments, worn out with lust, belch out in their discourse the murder of all good men, and the conflagration of the city?

But I am confident that some fate is hanging over these men; and that the punishment long since due to their iniquity, and worthlessness, and wickedness, and lust, is either visibly at hand or at least rapidly approaching. And if my consulship shall have removed, since it can not cure them, it will have added, not some brief span, but many ages of existence to the republic. For there is no nation for us to fear—no king who can make war on the Roman people. All foreign affairs are tranquillized, both by land and sea, by the valor of one man. Domestic war alone remains. The only plots against us are within our own walls—the danger is within—the enemy is within.

We must war with luxury, with madness, with wickedness. For this war, O citizens, I offer myself as the general. I take on myself the enmity of profligate men. What can be cured, I will cure, by whatever means it may be possible. What must be cut away, I will not suffer to spread, to the ruin of the republic. Let them depart, or let them stay quiet; or if they remain in the city and in the same disposition as at present, let them expect what they deserve.

But there are men, O Romans, who say that Catiline has been driven by me into banishment. But if I could do so by a word, I would drive out those also who say so. Forsooth, that timid, that excessively bashful man could not bear the voice of the consul; as soon as he was ordered to go into banishment, he obeyed, he was quiet. Yesterday, when I had been all but murdered at my own house, I convoked the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator; I related the whole affair to the conscript fathers; and when Catiline came thither, what senator addressed him? who saluted him? who looked upon him not so much even as an abandoned citizen, as an implacable enemy? Nay the chiefs of that body left that part of the benches to which he came naked and empty.

On this I, that violent consul, who drive citizens into exile by a word, asked of Catiline whether he had been at the nocturnal meeting at Marcus Lecca's, or not; when that most audacious man, convicted by his own conscience, was at first silent. I related all the other circumstances; I described what he had done that night, where he had been, what he had arranged for the next night, how the plan of the whole war had been laid down by him. When he hesitated, when he was convicted, I asked why he hesitated to go whither he had been long preparing to go; when I

knew that arms, that the axes, the fasces, and trumpets, and military standards, and that silver eagle to which he had made a shrine in his own house, had been sent on, did I drive him into exile who I knew had already entered upon war? I suppose Manlius, that centurion who has pitched his camp in the Fæsulan district, has proclaimed war against the Roman people in his own name and that camp is not now waiting for Catiline as its general, and he, driven forsooth into exile, will go to Marseilles, as they say, and not to that camp.

Oh, the hard lot of those, not only of those who govern, but even of those who save the republic. Now, if Lucius Catiline, hemmed in and rendered powerless by my counsels, by my toils, by my dangers, should on a sudden become alarmed, should change his designs, should desert his friends, should abandon his design of making war, should change his path from this course of wickedness and war, and betake himself to flight and exile, he will not be said to have been deprived by me of the arms of his audacity, to have been astounded and terrified by my diligence, to have been driven from his hope and from his enterprise, but, uncondemned and innocent, to have been driven into banishment by the consul by threats and violence; and there will be some who will seek to have him thought not worthless but unfortunate, and me considered not a most active consul, but a most cruel tyrant. I am not unwilling, O Romans, to endure this storm of false and unjust unpopularity as long as the danger of this horrible and nefarious war is warded off from you. Let him be said to be banished by me as long as he goes into banishment; but, believe me, he will not go. I will never ask of the immortal gods, O Romans, for the sake of lightening my own

unpopularity, for you to hear that Lucius Catiline is leading an army of enemies, and is hovering about in arms; but yet in three days you will hear it. And I much more fear that it will be objected to me some day or other that I have let him escape, rather than that I have banished him. But when there are men who say he has been banished because he has gone away, what would these men say if he had been put to death?

Although those men who keep saying that Catiline is going to Marseilles do not complain of this so much as they fear it; for there is not one of them so inclined to pity, as not to prefer that he should go to Manlius rather than to Marseilles. But he, if he had never before planned what he is now doing, yet would rather be slain while living as a bandit than live as an exile; but now, when nothing has happened to him contrary to his own wish and design—except, indeed, that he has left Rome while we are alive—let us wish rather that he may go into exile than complain of it.

But why are we speaking so long about one enemy; and about that enemy who now avows that he is one; and whom I now do not fear, because, as I have always wished, a wall is between us; and are saying nothing about those who dissemble, who remain at Rome, who are among us? Whom, indeed, if it were by any means possible, I should be anxious not so much to chastise as to cure, and to make friendly to the republic; nor, if they will listen to me, do I quite know why that may not be. For I will tell you, O Romans, of what classes of men those forces are made up, and then, if I can, I will apply to each the medicine of my advice and persuasion.

There is one class of them, who, with enormous debts,

have still greater possessions, and who can by no means be detached from their affection to them. Of these men the appearance is most respectable, for they are wealthy, but their intention and their cause are most shameless. Will you be rich in lands, in houses, in money, in slaves, in all things, and yet hesitate to diminish your possessions to add to your credit? What are you expecting? War? What! in the devastation of all things, do you believe that your own possessions will be held sacred? do you expect an abolition of debts? They are mistaken who expect that from Catiline. There may be schedules made out, owing to my exertions, but they will be only catalogues of sale. Nor can these who have possessions be safe by any other means; and if they had been willing to adopt this plan earlier, and not, as is very foolish, to struggle on against usury with the profits of their farms, we should have them now richer and better citizens. But I think these men are the least of all to be dreaded, because they can either be persuaded to abandon their opinions, or if they cling to them, they seem to me more likely to form wishes against the republic than to bear arms against it.

There is another class of them, who, although they are harassed by debt, yet are expecting supreme power; they wish to become masters. They think that when the republic is in confusion they may gain those honors which they despair of when it is in tranquillity. And they must, I think, be told the same as every one else—to despair of obtaining what they are aiming at; that in the first place I myself am watchful for, am present to, am providing for the republic. Besides that, there is a high spirit in the virtuous citizens, great unanimity, great numbers, and also a large body of troops. Above all that, the immortal gods

will stand by and bring aid to this invincible nation, this most illustrious empire, this most beautiful city, against such wicked violence. And if they had already got that which they with the greatest madness wish for, do they think that in the ashes of the city and blood of the citizens, which in their wicked and infamous hearts they desire, they will become consuls and dictators, and even kings? Do they not see that they are wishing for that which, if they were to obtain it, must be given up to some fugitive slave, or to some gladiator?

There is a third class, already touched by age, but still vigorous from constant exercise; of which class is Manlius himself, whom Catiline is now succeeding. These are men of those colonies which Sylla established at Fæsulæ, which I know to be composed, on the whole, of excellent citizens and brave men; but yet these are colonists, who, from becoming possessed of unexpected and sudden wealth, boast themselves extravagantly and insolently; these men, while they build like rich men, while they delight in farms, in litters, in vast families of slaves, in luxurious banquets, have incurred such great debts, that, if they would be saved, they must raise Sylla from the dead; and they have even excited some countrymen, poor and needy men, to entertain the same hopes of plunder as themselves. And all these men, O Romans, I place in the same class of robbers and banditti. But, I warn them, let them cease to be mad, and to think of proscriptions and dictatorships; for such a horror of these times is ingrained into the city, that not even men, but it seems to me that even the very cattle would refuse to bear them again.

There is a fourth class, various, promiscuous, and turbulent; who indeed are now overwhelmed; who will never

recover themselves; who, partly from indolence, partly from managing their affairs badly, partly from extravagance, are embarrassed by old debts; and worn out with bail-bonds, and judgments, and seizures of their goods, are said to be betaking themselves in numbers to that camp both from the city and the country. These men I think not so much active soldiers as lazy insolvents; who, if they cannot stand at first, may fall, but fall so, that not only the city but even their nearest neighbors know nothing of it. For I do not understand why, if they cannot live 'with honor, they should wish to die shamefully; or why they think they shall perish with less pain in a crowd, than if they perish by themselves.

There is a fifth class, of parricides, assassins, in short of all infamous characters, whom I do not wish to recall from Catiline, and indeed they cannot be separated from him. Let them perish in their wicked war, since they are so numerous that a prison cannot contain them.

There is a last class, last not only in number but in the sort of men and in their way of life; the especial body-guard of Catiline, of his levying; ay, the friends of his embraces and of his bosom; whom you see with carefully combed hair, glossy, beardless, or with well-trimmed beards; with tunics with sleeves, or reaching to the ankles; clothed with veils, not with robes; all the industry of whose life, all the labor of whose watchfulness, is expended in suppers lasting till daybreak.

In these bands are all the gamblers, all the adulterers, all the unclean and shameless citizens. These boys, so witty and delicate, have learned not only to love and to be loved, not only to sing and to dance, but also to brandish daggers and to administer poisons; and unless they are

driven out, unless they die, even should Catiline die, I warn you that the school of Catiline would exist in the republic. But what do those wretches want? Are they going to take their wives with them to the camp? How can they do without them, especially in these nights? and how will they endure the Apennines, and these frosts, and this snow? unless they think that they will bear the winter more easily because they have been in the habit of dancing naked at their feasts. O war much to be dreaded, when Catiline is going to have his bodyguard of prostitutes!

Array now, O Romans, against these splendid troops of Catiline, your guards and your armies; and first of all oppose to that worn-out and wounded gladiator your consuls and generals; then against that banished and enfeebled troop of ruined men lead out the flower and strength of all Italy: instantly the cities of the colonies and municipalities will match the rustic mounds of Catiline; and I will not condescend to compare the rest of your troops and equipments and guards with the want and destitution of that highwayman. But if, omitting all these things in which we are rich and of which he is destitute—the senate, the Roman knights, the people, the city, the treasury, the revenues, all Italy, all the provinces, foreign nations—if, I say, omitting all these things, we choose to compare the causes themselves which are opposed to one another, we may understand from that alone how thoroughly prostrate they are. For on the one side are fighting modesty, on the other wantonness; on the one chastity, on the other uncleanness; on the one honesty, on the other fraud; on the one piety, on the other wickedness; on the one consistency, on the other insanity; on the one honor, on the other base-

ness; on the one continence, on the other lust; in short, equity, temperance, fortitude, prudence, all the virtues contend against iniquity with luxury, against indolence, against rashness, against all the vices; lastly, abundance contends against destitution, good plans against baffled designs, wisdom against madness, well-founded hope against universal despair. In a contest and war of this sort, even if the zeal of men were to fail, will not the immortal gods compel such numerous and excessive vices to be defeated by these most eminent virtues?

And as this is the case, O Romans, do ye, as I have said before, defend your house with guards and vigilance. I have taken care and made arrangements that there shall be sufficient protection for the city without distressing you and without any tumult. All the colonists and citizens of your municipal towns, being informed by me of this nocturnal sally of Catiline, will easily defend their cities and territories; the gladiators which he thought would be his most numerous and most trusty band, although they are better disposed than part of the patricians, will be held in check by our power. Quintus Metellus, whom I, making provision for this, sent on to the Gallic and Picenian territory, will either overwhelm the man, or will prevent all his motions and attempts; but with respect to the arrangement of all other matters, and maturing and acting on our plans, we shall consult the senate, which, as you are aware, is convened.

Now once more I wish those who have remained in the city, and who, contrary to the safety of the city and of all of you, have been left in the city by Catiline, although they are enemies, yet because they were born citizens, to be warned again and again by me. If my lenity has ap-

peared to any one too remiss, it has been only waiting that that might break out which was lying hid. As to the future, I cannot now forget that this is my country, that I am the consul of these citizens; that I must either live with them, or die for them. There is no guard at the gate, no one plotting against their path; if any one wishes to go, he can provide for himself; but if any one stirs in the city, and if I detect not only any action, but any attempt or design against the country he shall feel that there are in this city vigilant consuls, eminent magistrates, a brave senate, arms, and prisons; which our ancestors appointed as the avengers of nefarious and convicted crimes.

And all this shall be so done, O Romans, that affairs of the greatest importance shall be transacted with the least possible disturbance; the greatest dangers shall be avoided without any tumult; an internal civil war, the most cruel and terrible in the memory of man, shall be put an end to by me alone in the robe of peace acting as general and commander-in-chief. And this I will so arrange, O Romans, that if it can be by any means managed, even the most worthless man shall not suffer the punishment of his crimes in this city. But if the violence of open audacity, if danger impending over the republic drives me of necessity from this merciful disposition, at all events I will manage this, which seems scarcely even to be hoped for in so great and so treacherous a war, that no good man shall fall, and that you may all be saved by the punishment of a few.

And I promise you this, O Romans, relying neither on my own prudence, nor on human counsels, but on many and manifest intimations of the will of the immortal gods; under whose guidance I first entertained this hope and this opinion; who are now defending their temples and

the houses of the city, not afar off, as they were used to, from a foreign and distant enemy, but here on the spot, by their own divinity and present help. And you, O Romans, ought to pray to and implore them to defend from the nefarious wickedness of abandoned citizens, now that all the forces of all enemies are defeated by land and sea, this city which they have ordained to be the most beautiful and flourishing of all cities.

THE THIRD ORATION AGAINST LUCIUS CATILINE

ADDRESSED TO THE PEOPLE

THE ARGUMENT

While Cicero was addressing the preceding speech to the people, a debate was going on in the senate of which we have no account. In the meanwhile Catiline, after staying a few days on the road to raise the country as he passed along, where his agents had been previously busy among the people, proceeded to Manlius's camp with the fasces and all the ensigns of military command displayed before him. Upon this news the senate immediately declared him and Manlius public enemies; they offered pardon to all his followers who should return to their duty by a certain day; and ordered the consuls to make new levies, and that Antonius should follow Catiline with his army, and Cicero remain behind to protect the city.

In the meantime Lentulus, and the other conspirators who remained behind, were proceeding with their designs. And among other steps, they decided on endeavoring to tamper with some ambassadors from the Allobroges, who were at that moment within the city, as the Allobroges were supposed not to be very well affected to the Roman power. At first these ambassadors appear to have willingly given ear to their proposals; but after a while they began to consider the difficulty of the business proposed to them, and the danger which would ensue to their state if it failed after they had become implicated in it; and accordingly they revealed the business to Quintus Fabius Sanga, the patron of their city, who communicated it to Cicero. Cicero desired the ambassadors to continue to listen to the proposals of the conspirators, till they had become fully acquainted with the extent of the plot, and till they were able to furnish him with full evidence against the actors in it; and by his suggestion they required the conspirators to furnish them with credentials to show to their countrymen. This was thought reasonable by Lentulus and his party, and they accordingly appointed a man named Vulturcius to accompany them, who was to introduce them to Catiline on their road, in order to confirm the agreement, and to exchange pledges with him, and Lentulus also furnished them with a letter to Catiline under his own hand and seal, though not signed. Cicero being privately informed of all these particulars, concerted with the ambassadors the time and manner of their leaving Rome by night, and had them arrested on the Mulvian bridge, about a mile from the city, with these letters and papers in their possession. This was all done, and they brought as prisoners to Cicero's house early in the morning.

Cicero immediately summoned the senate; and at the same time he sent for Lentulus, Cethegus, and others of the conspirators who were more es-

pecially implicated, such as Gabinius and Statilius, who all came immediately to his house, being ignorant of the discovery that had taken place. Being informed also that a quantity of arms had been provided by Cethegus for the purpose of the conspiracy, he orders Caius Sulpicius, one of the prætors, to search his house, and he did so, and found a great number of swords and daggers ready cleaned and fit for use.

He then proceeds to meet the senate in the Temple of Concord, with the ambassadors and conspirators in custody. He relates the whole affair to them, and introduces Vulturcius to be examined before them. Cicero, by the order of the senate, promises him pardon and reward if he reveals what he knew. On which he confesses everything; tells them that he had letters from Lentulus to Catiline to urge him to avail himself of the assistance of the slaves, and to lead his army with all expedition against Rome; in order, when the city had been set on fire, and the massacre commenced, that he might be able to intercept and destroy those who fled.

Then the ambassadors were examined, who declared that they had received letters to the chief men of their nation from Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius; and that they, and Lucius Cassius also, begged them to send a body of cavalry into Italy, and that Lentulus assured them, from the Sibylline books, that he was the third Cornelius who was destined to reign at Rome. The letters were produced and opened. On the sight of them the conspirators respectively acknowledged them to be theirs, and Lentulus was even so conscience-stricken that he confessed his whole crime.

The senate passed a vote acknowledging the services of Cicero in the most ample terms, and voted that Lentulus should be deposed from his office of prætor, and, with all the other conspirators, committed to safe custody. Cicero, after the senate adjourned, proceeded to the forum and gave an account to the people of everything which had passed, both in regard to the steps that he had taken to detect the whole conspiracy, and to convict the conspirators; and also of what had taken place in the senate, and of the votes and resolutions which that body had just passed.

While the prisoners were before the senate he had copies of their examinations and confessions taken down, and dispersed through Italy and all the provinces. This happened on the third of December.

YOU see this day, O Romans, the republic, and all your lives, your goods, your fortunes, your wives and children, this home of most illustrious empire, this most fortunate and beautiful city, by the great love of the immortal gods for you, by my labors and counsels and dangers, snatched from fire and sword, and almost

from the very jaws of fate, and preserved and restored to you.

And if those days on which we are preserved are not less pleasant to us, or less illustrious, than those on which we are born, because the joy of being saved is certain, the good fortune of being born uncertain, and because we are born without feeling it, but we are preserved with great delight; ay, since we have, by our affection and by our good report, raised to the immortal gods that Romulus who built this city, he, too, who has preserved this city, built by him, and embellished as you see it, ought to be held in honor by you and your posterity; for we have extinguished flames which were almost laid under and placed around the temples and shrines, and houses and walls of the whole city; we have turned the edge of swords drawn against the republic, and have turned aside their points from your throats. And since all this has been displayed in the senate, and made manifest, and detected by me, I will now explain it briefly, that you, O citizens, that are as yet ignorant of it, and are in suspense, may be able to see how great the danger was, how evident and by what means it was detected and arrested. First of all, since Catiline, a few days ago, burst out of the city, when he had left behind the companions of his wickedness, the active leaders of this infamous war, I have continually watched and taken care, O Romans, of the means by which we might be safe amid such great and such carefully concealed treachery.

Further, when I drove Catiline out of the city (for I do not fear the unpopularity of this expression, when that is more to be feared than I should be blamed because he has departed alive), but then when I wished him to be removed, I thought either that the rest of the band of conspirators

would depart with him, or that they who remained would be weak and powerless without him.

And I, as I saw that those whom I knew to be inflamed with the greatest madness and wickedness were among us, and had remained at Rome, spent all my nights and days in taking care to know and see what they were doing, and what they were contriving; that, since what I said would, from the incredible enormity of the wickedness, make less impression on your ears, I might so detect the whole business that you might with all your hearts provide for your safety, when you saw the crime with your own eyes. Therefore, when I found that the ambassadors of the Allobroges had been tampered with by Publius Lentulus, for the sake of exciting a Transalpine war and commotion in Gaul, and that they, on their return to Gaul, had been sent with letters and messages to Catiline on the same road, and that Vulturcius had been added to them as a companion, and that he, too, had had letters given him for Catiline, I thought that an opportunity was given me of contriving what was most difficult, and which I was always wishing the immortal gods might grant, that the whole business might be manifestly detected not by me alone, but by the senate also, and by you.

Thereby, yesterday, I summoned Lucius Flaccus and C. Pomtinus, the prætors, brave men and well affected to the republic. I explained to them the whole matter, and showed them what I wished to have done. But they, full of noble and worthy sentiments toward the republic, without hesitation, and without any delay, undertook the business, and when it was evening, went secretly to the Mulvian bridge, and there so distributed themselves in the nearest villas, that the Tiber and the bridge were between them.

And they took to the same place, without any one having the least suspicion of it, many brave men, and I had sent many picked young men of the prefecture of Reate, whose assistance I constantly employ in the protection of the republic, armed with swords. In the meantime, about the end of the third watch, when the ambassadors of the Allobroges, with a great retinue and Vulturcius with them, began to come upon the Mulvian bridge, an attack is made upon them; swords are drawn both by them and by our people; the matter was understood by the prætors alone, but was unknown to the rest.

Then, by the intervention of Pomtinus and Flaccus, the fight which had begun was put an end to; all the letters which were in the hands of the whole company are delivered to the prætors with the seals unbroken; the men themselves are arrested and brought to me at daybreak. And I immediately summoned that most worthless contriver of all this wickedness, Gabinius, as yet suspecting nothing; after him, P. Statilius is sent for, and after him Cethegus; but Lentulus was a long time in coming—I suppose, because, contrary to his custom, he had been up a long time the night before, writing letters.

But when those most noble and excellent men of the whole city, who, hearing of the matter, came in crowds to me in the morning, thought it best for me to open the letters before I related the matter to the senate, lest, if nothing were found in them, so great a disturbance might seem to have been caused to the state for nothing, I said I would never so act as shrink from referring matter of public danger to the public council. In truth, if, O Romans, these things which had been reported to me had not been found in them, yet I did not think I ought, in such a crisis of the republic,

to be afraid of the imputation of over-diligence. I quickly summoned a full senate, as you saw; and meantime, without any delay, by the advice of the Allobroges, I sent Caius Sulpicius the prætor, a brave man, to bring whatever arms he could find in the house of Cethegus, whence he did bring a great number of swords and daggers.

I introduced Vulturcius without the Gauls. By the command of the senate, I pledged him the public faith for his safety. I exhorted him fearlessly to tell all he knew. Then, when he had scarcely recovered himself from his great alarm, he said: that he had messages and letters for Catiline, from Publius Lentulus, to avail himself of the guard of the slaves, and to come toward the city with his army as quickly as possible; and that was to be done with the intention that, when they had set fire to the city on all sides, as it had been arranged and distributed, and had made a great massacre of the citizens, he might be at hand to catch those who fled, and to join himself to the leaders within the city. But the Gauls being introduced, said that an oath had been administered to them, and letters given them by Publius Lentulus, Cethegus, and Statilius, for their nation; and that they had been enjoined by them, and by Lucius Cassius, to send cavalry into Italy as early as possible; that infantry should not be wanting; and that Lentulus had assured him, from the Sibylline oracles and the answers of soothsayers, that he was that third Cornelius to whom the kingdom and sovereignty over this city was fated to come; that Cinna and Sylla had been before him; and that he had also said that was the year destined to the destruction of this city and empire, being the tenth year after the acquittal of the virgins, and the twentieth after the burning of the Capitol. But they said there had

been this dispute between Cethegus and the rest—that Lentulus and others thought it best that the massacre should take place and the city be burned at the Saturnalia, but that Cethegus thought it too long to wait.

And, not to detain you, O Romans, we ordered the letters to be brought forward which were said to have been given them by each of the men. First, I showed his seal to Cethegus; he recognized it: we cut the thread; we read the letter. It was written with his own hand: that he would do for the senate and people of the Allobroges what he had promised their ambassadors; and that he begged them also to do what their ambassadors had arranged. Then Cethegus, who a little before had made answer about the swords and daggers which had been found in his house, and had said that he had always been fond of fine arms, being stricken down and dejected at the reading of his letters, convicted by his own conscience, became suddenly silent. Statilius, being introduced, owned his handwriting and his seal. His letters were read, of nearly the same tenor: he confessed it. Then I showed Lentulus his letters, and asked him whether he recognized the seal? He nodded assent. But it is, said I, a well-known seal—the likeness of your grandfather, a most illustrious man, who greatly loved his country and his fellow-citizens; and it, even though silent, ought to have called you back from such wickedness.

Letters are read of the same tenor to the senate and people of the Allobroges. I offered him leave, if he wished to say anything of these matters: and at first he declined to speak; but a little afterward, when the whole examination had been gone through and concluded, he rose. He asked the Gauls what he had had to do with them? why

they had come to his house? and he asked Vulturcius too. And when they had answered him briefly and steadily, under whose guidance they had come to him, and how often; and when they asked him whether he had said nothing to them about the Sibylline oracles; then he on a sudden, mad with wickedness, showed how great was the power of conscience; for though he might have denied it, he suddenly, contrary to every one's expectation, confessed it: so not only did his genius and skill in oratory, for which he was always eminent, but even, through the power of his manifest and detected wickedness, that impudence, in which he surpassed all men, and audacity deserted him.

But Vulturcius on a sudden ordered the letters to be produced and opened which he said had been given to him for Catiline, by Lentulus. And though Lentulus was greatly agitated at that, yet he acknowledged his seal and his handwriting; but the letter was anonymous, and ran thus: "Who I am you will know from him whom I have sent to you: take care to behave like a man, and consider to what place you have proceeded, and provide for what is now necessary for you: take care to associate to yourself the assistance of every one, even of the powerless." Then Gabinius being introduced, when at first he had begun to answer impudently, at last denied nothing of those things which the Gauls alleged against him. And to me, indeed, O Romans, though the letters, the seals, the handwriting, and the confession of each individual seemed most certain indications and proofs of wickedness, yet their color, their eyes, their countenance, their silence, appeared more certain still; for they stood so stupefied, they kept their eyes so fixed on the ground, at times looking stealthily

at one another, that they appeared now not so much to be informed against by others as to be informing against themselves.

Having produced and divulged these proofs, O Romans, I consulted the senate what ought to be done for the interests of the republic. Vigorous and fearless opinions were delivered by the chief men, which the senate adopted without any variety; and since the decree of the senate is not yet written out, I will relate to you from memory, O citizens, what the senate has decreed. First of all, a vote of thanks to me is passed in the most honorable words, because the republic has been delivered from the greatest dangers by my valor, and wisdom, and prudence. Then Lucius Flaccus and Caius Pomtinus, the prætors, are deservedly and rightly praised, because I had availed myself of their brave and loyal assistance. And also, praise is given to that brave man, my colleague, because he had removed from his counsels, and from the counsels of the republic, those who had been accomplices in this conspiracy. And they voted that Publius Lentulus, when he had abdicated the prætorship, should be given into custody; and also, that Caius Cethegus, Lucius Statilius, Publius Gabinus, who were all present, should be given into custody: and the same decree was passed against Lucius Cassius, who begged for himself the office of burning the city; against Marcus Caparius, to whom it had been proved that Apulia had been allotted for the purpose of exciting disaffection among the shepherds; against Publius Furius, who belongs to the colonies which Lucius Sylla led to Fæsulæ; against Quintus Manlius Chilo, who was always associated with this man Furius in his tampering with the Allobroges; against Publius Umbrenus, a freedman, by

whom it was proved that the Gauls were originally brought to Gabinus.

And the senate, O citizens, acted with such lenity, that, out of so great a conspiracy, and such a number and multitude of domestic enemies, it thought that since the republic was saved, the minds of the rest might be restored to a healthy state by the punishment of nine most abandoned men. And also a supplication was decreed in my name (which is the first time since the building of the city that such an honor has ever been paid to a man in a civil capacity), to the immortal gods, for their singular kindness. And it was decreed in these words, "because I had delivered the city from conflagration, the citizens from massacre, and Italy from war." And if this supplication be compared with others, O citizens, there is this difference between them—that all others have been appointed because of the successes of the republic; this one alone for its preservation. And that which was the first thing to be done, has been done and executed; for Publius Lentulus, though, being convicted by proofs and by his own confession, by the judgment of the senate he had lost not only the rights of a prætor, but also those of a citizen, still resigned his office; so that, though Caius Marcius, that most illustrious of men, had no scruples about putting to death Caius Glaucius the prætor, against whom nothing had been decreed by name, still we are relieved from that scruple in the case of Publius Lentulus, who is now a private individual.

Now, since, O citizens, you have the nefarious leaders of this most wicked and dangerous war taken prisoners and in your grasp, you ought to think that all the resources of Catiline—all his hopes and all his power, now that these

dangers of the city are warded off, have fallen to pieces. And, indeed, when I drove him from the city, I foresaw in my mind, O citizens, that if Catiline were removed, I had no cause to fear either the drowsiness of Publius Lentulus, or the fat of Lucius Cassius, or the mad rashness of Cassius Cethegus. He alone was to be feared of all these men, and that only as long as he was within the walls of the city. He knew everything, he had access to everybody. He had the skill and the audacity to address, to tempt, and to tamper with every one. He had acuteness suited to crime; and neither tongue nor hand ever failed to support that acuteness. Already he had men he could rely on, chosen and distributed for the execution of all other business; and when he had ordered anything to be done, he did not think it was done on that account. There was nothing to which he did not personally attend and see to—for which he did not watch and toil. He was able to endure cold, thirst, and hunger.

Unless I had driven this man, so active, so ready, so audacious, so crafty, so vigilant in wickedness, so industrious in criminal exploits, from his plots within the city to the open warfare of the camp (I will express my honest opinion, O citizens), I should not easily have removed from your necks so vast a weight of evil. He would not have determined on the Saturnalia to massacre you—he would not have announced the destruction of the republic, and even the day of its doom so long beforehand—he would never have allowed his seal and his letters, the undeniable witnesses of his guilt, to be taken, which now, since he is absent, has been so done that no larceny in a private house has ever been so thoroughly and clearly detected as this vast conspiracy against the republic. But if Catiline had

remained in the city to this day, although, as long as he was so, I met all his designs and withstood them; yet, to say the least, we should have had to fight with him, and should never, while he remained as an enemy in the city, have delivered the republic from such dangers, with such ease, such tranquillity, and such silence.

Although all these things, O Romans, have been so managed by me, that they appear to have been done and provided for by the order and design of the immortal gods; and as we may conjecture this because the direction of such weighty affairs scarcely appears capable of having been carried out by human wisdom; so, too, they have at this time so brought us present aid and assistance, that we could almost behold them without eyes. For to say nothing of those things, namely, the firebrands seen in the west in the night time, and the heat of the atmosphere—to pass over the falling of thunderbolts and the earthquakes—to say nothing of all the other portents which have taken place in such numbers during my consulship, that the immortal gods themselves have been seeming to predict what is now taking place; yet, at all events, this which I am about to mention, O Romans, must be neither passed over nor omitted.

For you recollect, I suppose, when Cotta and Torquatus were consuls, that many towers in the Capitol were struck with lightning, when both the images of the immortal gods were moved, and the statues of many ancient men were thrown down, and the brazen tablets on which the laws were written were melted. Even Romulus, who built this city, was struck, which, you recollect, stood in the Capitol, a gilt statue, little and sucking, and clinging to the teats of the wolf. And when at this time the soothsayers were

assembled out of all Etruria, they said that slaughter and conflagration, and the overthrow of the laws, and civil and domestic war, and the fall of the whole city and empire was at hand, unless the immortal gods, being appeased in every possible manner, by their own power turned aside, as I may say, the very fates themselves.

Therefore, according to their answers, games were celebrated for ten days, nor was anything omitted which might tend to the appeasing of the gods. And they enjoined also that we should make a greater statue of Jupiter, and place it in a lofty situation, and (contrary to what had been done before) turn it toward the east. And they said that they hoped that if that statue which you now behold looked upon the rising of the sun, and the forum, and the senate house, then those designs which were secretly formed against the safety of the city and empire would be brought to light, so as to be able to be thoroughly seen by the senate and by the Roman people. And the consuls ordered it to be so placed; but so great was the delay in the work, that it was never set up by the former consuls, nor by us before this day.

Here who, O Romans, can there be so obstinate against the truth, so headstrong, so void of sense, as to deny that all these things which we see, and especially this city, is governed by the divine authority and power of the immortal gods? Forsooth, when this answer had been given—that massacre, and conflagration, and ruin was prepared for the republic; and that, too, by profligate citizens, which, from the enormity of the wickedness, appeared incredible to some people, you found that it had not only been planned by wicked citizens, but had even been undertaken and commenced. And is not this fact so present that it appears to have taken place by the express will of the good and mighty

Jupiter, that, when this day, early in the morning, both the conspirators and their accusers were being led by my command through the forum to the Temple of Concord, at that very time the statue was being erected? And when it was set up, and turned toward you and toward the senate, the senate and you yourselves saw everything which had been planned against the universal safety brought to light and made manifest.

And on this account they deserve even greater hatred and greater punishment, for having attempted to apply their fatal and wicked fire, not only to your houses and homes, but even to the shrines and temples of the gods. And if I were to say that it was I who resisted them, I should take too much to myself, and ought not to be borne. He—he, Jupiter, resisted them. He determined that the Capitol should be safe, he saved these temples, he saved this city, he saved all of you. It is under the guidance of the immortal gods, O Romans, that I have cherished the intention and desires which I have, and have arrived at such undeniable proofs. Surely, that tampering with the Allobroges would never have taken place, so important a matter would never have been so madly intrusted, by Lentulus and the rest of our internal enemies, to strangers and foreigners, such letters would never have been written, unless all prudence had been taken by the immortal gods from such terrible audacity. What shall I say? That Gauls, men from a state scarcely at peace with us, the only nation existing which seems both to be able to make war on the Roman people, and not to be unwilling to do so—that they should disregard the hope of empire and of the greatest success voluntarily offered to them by patricians, and should prefer your safety to their own power—do you not think that that

was caused by divine interposition? especially when they could have destroyed us, not by fighting, but by keeping silence.

Wherefore, O citizens, since a supplication has been decreed at all the altars, celebrate those days with your wives and children; for many just and deserved honors have been often paid to the immortal gods, but juster ones never. For you have been snatched from a most cruel and miserable destruction, and you have been snatched from it without slaughter, without bloodshed, without an army, without a battle. You have conquered in the garb of peace, with me in the garb of peace for your only general and commander.

Remember, O citizens, all civil dissensions, and not only those which you have heard of, but those also which you yourselves remember and have seen. Lucius Sylla crushed Publius Sulpicius; he drove from the city Caius Marius the guardian of this city; and of many other brave men some he drove from the city, and some he murdered. Cnæus Octavius, the consul, drove his colleague by force of arms out of the city; all this place was crowded with heaps of carcasses and flowed with the blood of citizens; afterward Cinna and Marius got the upper hand; and then most illustrious men were put to death, and the lights of the state were extinguished. Afterward Sylla avenged the cruelty of this victory; it is needless to say with what a diminution of the citizens, and with what disasters to the republic. Marcus Lepidus disagreed with that most eminent and brave man, Quintus Catulus. His death did not cause as much grief to the republic as that of the others.

And these dissensions, O Romans, were such as concerned not the destruction of the republic, but only a change in the constitution. They did not wish that there should be

no republic, but that they themselves should be the chief men in that which existed; nor did they desire that the city should be burned, but that they themselves should flourish in it. And yet all those dissensions, none of which aimed at the destruction of the republic, were such that they were to be terminated not by a reconciliation and concord, but only by internecine war among the citizens. But in this war alone, the greatest and most cruel in the memory of man—a war such as even the countries of the barbarians have never waged with their own tribes—a war in which this law was laid down by Lentulus, and Catiline, and Cassius, and Cethegus, that every one, who could live in safety as long as the city remained in safety, should be considered as an enemy—in this war I have so managed matters, O Romans, that you should all be preserved in safety; and though your enemies had thought that only such a number of the citizens would be left as had held out against an interminable massacre, and only so much of the city as the flames could not devour, I have preserved both the city and the citizens unhurt and undiminished.

And for these exploits, important as they are, O Romans, I ask from you no reward of virtue, no badge of honor, no monument of my glory, beyond the everlasting recollection of this day. In your minds I wish all my triumphs, all my decorations of honor, the monuments of my glory, the badges of my renown, to be stored and laid up. Nothing voiceless can delight me, nothing silent—nothing, in short, such as even those who are less worthy can obtain. In your memory, O Romans, my name shall be cherished, in your discourses it shall grow, in the monuments of your letters it shall grow old and strengthen; and I feel assured that the same day which I hope will be for everlasting, will

be remembered forever, so as to tend both to the safety of the city and the recollection of my consulship; and that it will be remembered that there existed in this city at the same time two citizens, one of whom limited the boundaries of your empire only by the regions of heaven, not by those of the earth, while the other preserved the abode and home of that same empire.

But since the fortune and condition of those exploits which I have performed is not the same with that of those men who have directed foreign wars—because I must live among those whom I have defeated and subdued, they have left their enemies either slain or crushed—it is your business, O Romans, to take care, if their good deeds are a benefit to others, that mine shall never be an injury to me. For that the wicked and profligate designs of audacious men shall not be able to injure you, I have taken care; it is your business to take care that they do not injure me. Although, O Romans, no injury can be done to me by them—for there is a great protection in the affection of all good men, which is procured for me forever; there is great dignity in the republic, which will always silently defend me; there is great power in conscience, and those who neglect it, when they desire to attack me, will destroy themselves.

There is, moreover, that disposition in me, O Romans, that I not only will yield to the audacity of no one, but that I always voluntarily attack the worthless. And if all the violence of domestic enemies being warded off from you turns itself upon me alone, you will have to take care, O Romans, in what condition you wish those men to be for the future, who for your safety have exposed themselves to unpopularity and to all sorts of dangers. As for me, my-

self, what is there which now can be gained by me for the enjoyment of life, especially when neither in credit among you, nor in the glory of virtue, do I see any higher point to which I can be desirous to climb?

That indeed I will take care of, O Romans, as a private man to uphold and embellish the exploits which I have performed in my consulship: so that, if there has been any unpopularity incurred in preserving the republic, it may injure those who envy me, and may tend to my glory. Lastly, I will so behave myself in the republic as always to remember what I have done, and to take care that they shall appear to have been done through virtue, and not by chance. Do you, O Romans, since it is now night, worship that Jupiter, the guardian of this city and of yourselves, and depart to your homes; and defend those homes, though the danger is now removed, with guard and watch as you did last night. That you shall not have to do so long, and that you shall enjoy perpetual tranquillity, shall, O Romans, be my care.

DISCUSSION OF THE FATE OF THE CONSPIRATORS BY THE SENATORS

THE NIGHT after the events mentioned in the argument to the preceding oration, Cicero's wife Terentia, with the vestal virgins, was performing at home the mystic rites of the Bona Dea, while Cicero was deliberating with his friends on the best mode of punishing the conspirators. Terentia interrupted their deliberations by coming in to inform them of a prodigy which had just happened; that after the sacrifice in which she had been engaged was over, the fire revived spontaneously; on which the vestal virgins had sent her to him, to inform him of it, and to bid him pursue what he was then thinking of and intending for the good of his country, since the goddess had given this sign that she was watching over his safety and glory.

The next day the senate ordered public rewards to the ambassadors and to Vulturcius; and showed signs of intending to proceed with extreme rigor against the conspirators; when, on a sudden, rumors arose of plots having been formed by the slaves of Lentulus and Cethegus for their masters' rescue; which obliged Cicero to double all the guards, and determined him to prevent any repetition of such attempts by bringing before the senate without delay the question of the punishment of the prisoners. On which account he summoned the senate to meet the next morning.

There were many difficulties in the matter. Capital punishments were unusual and very unpopular at Rome. And there was an old law of Porcius Lecca, a tribune of the people, which granted to all criminals who were capitally condemned an appeal to the people; and also a law had been passed, since his time, by Caius Gracchus, to prohibit the taking away the life of any citizen without a formal hearing before the people. And these considerations had so much weight with some of the senators, that they absented themselves from the senate during this debate, in order to have no share in sentencing prisoners of such high rank to death. The debate was opened by Silanus, the consul-elect, who declared his opinion, that those in custody, and those also who should be taken subsequently, should all be put to death. Every one who followed him agreed with him, till Julius Cæsar, the prætor-elect (who has been often suspected of having been, at least to some extent, privy to the conspiracy), rose, and in an elaborate speech proposed that they should not be put to death, but that their estates should be confiscated, and they themselves kept in perpetual confinement. Cato opposed him with great earnestness. But some of Cicero's friends appeared inclined

to Cæsar's motion, thinking it a safer measure for Cicero himself; but when Cicero perceived this, he arose himself, and discussed the opinions both of Silanus and Cæsar in his fourth oration which decided the senate to vote for their condemnation. And as soon as the vote had passed, Cicero went immediately from the senate house, took Lentulus from the custody of his kinsman Lentulus Spinther, and delivered him to the executioner. The other conspirators, Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius, etc., were in like manner conducted to execution by the prætors; and Cicero was conducted home to his house in triumph by the whole body of the senate and by the knights, the whole multitude following him, and saluting him as their deliverer.

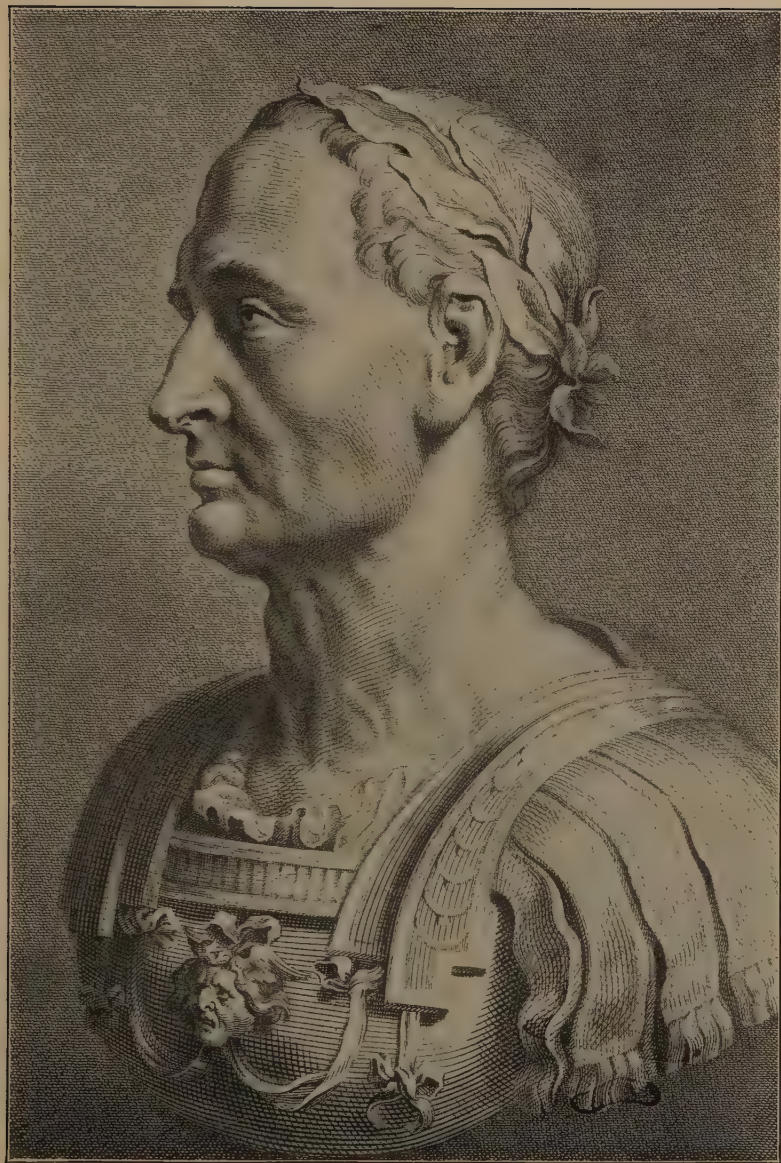
CÆSAR

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE ROMAN SENATE ON THE TREATMENT OF THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRATORS

IT becomes all men, conscript fathers, who deliberate on dubious matters, to be influenced neither by hatred, affection, anger, nor pity. The mind, when such feelings obstruct its view, cannot easily see what is right; nor has any human being consulted, at the same moment, his passions and his interest. When the mind is freely exerted, its reasoning is sound; but passion, if it gain possession of it, becomes its tyrant, and reason is powerless.

I could easily mention, conscript fathers, numerous examples of kings and nations, who, swayed by resentment or compassion, have adopted injudicious courses of conduct; but I had rather speak of those instances in which our ancestors, in opposition to the impulse of passion, acted with wisdom and sound policy.

In the Macedonian war, which we carried on against King Perses, the great and powerful state of Rhodes, which had risen by the aid of the Roman people, was faithless and hostile to us; yet, when the war was ended,



CÆSAR

and the conduct of the Rhodians was taken into consideration, our forefathers left them unmolested, lest any should say that war was made upon them for the sake of seizing their wealth, rather than of punishing their faithlessness. Throughout the Punic wars, too, though the Carthaginians, both during peace and in suspension of arms, were guilty of many acts of injustice, yet our ancestors never took occasion to retaliate, but considered rather what was worthy of themselves than what might justly be inflicted on their enemies.

Similar caution, conscript fathers, is to be observed by yourselves, that the guilt of Lentulus, and the other conspirators, may not have greater weight with you than your own dignity, and that you may not regard your indignation more than your character. If, indeed, a punishment adequate to their crimes be discovered, I consent to extraordinary measures; but if the enormity of their crime exceeds whatever can be devised, I think that we should inflict only such penalties as the laws have provided.

Most of those who have given their opinions before me have deplored, in studied and impressive language, the sad fate that threatens the republic; they have recounted the barbarities of war, and the afflictions that would fall on the vanquished; they have told us that maidens would be dishonored, and youths abused; that children would be torn from the embraces of their parents; that matrons would be subjected to the pleasure of the conquerors; that temples and dwelling-houses would be plundered; that massacres and fires would follow; and that every place would be filled with arms, corpses, blood, and lamentation. But to what end, in the name of the eternal gods! was such eloquence directed? Was it intended

to render you indignant at the conspiracy? A speech, no doubt, will inflame him whom so frightful and monstrous a reality has not provoked! Far from it: for to no man does evil, directed against himself, appear a light matter; many, on the contrary, have felt it more seriously than was right.

But to different persons, conscript fathers, different degrees of license are allowed. If those who pass a life sunk in obscurity commit any error, through excessive anger, few become aware of it, for their fame is as limited as their fortune; but of those who live invested with extensive power, and in an exalted station, the whole world knows the proceedings. Thus in the highest position there is the least liberty of action; and it becomes us to indulge neither partiality nor aversion, but least of all animosity; for what in others is called resentment is in the powerful termed violence and cruelty.

I am, indeed, of opinion, conscript fathers, that the utmost degree of torture is inadequate to punish their crime; but the generality of mankind dwell on that which happens last, and, in the case of malefactors, forget their guilt, and talk only of their punishment, should that punishment have been inordinately severe. I feel assured, too, that Decimus Silanus, a man of spirit and resolution, made the suggestions which he offered, from zeal for the state, and that he had no view, in so important a matter, to favor or to enmity; such I know to be his character, and such his discretion. Yet his proposal appears to me, I will not say cruel (for what can be cruel that is directed against such characters?), but foreign to our policy. For, assuredly, Silanus, either your fears, or their treason, must have induced you, a consul-elect, to propose this new kind of punishment. Of fear it

is unnecessary to speak, when, by the prompt activity of that distinguished man our consul, such numerous forces are under arms; and as to the punishment, we may say, what is, indeed, the truth, that in trouble and distress death is a relief from suffering, and not a torment; that it puts an end to all human woes; and that, beyond it, there is no place either for sorrow or joy.

But why, in the name of the immortal gods, did you not add to your proposal, Silanus, that, before they were put to death, they should be punished with the scourge? Was it because the Porcian law forbids it? But other laws forbid condemned citizens to be deprived of life, and allow them to go into exile. Or was it because scourging is a severer penalty than death? Yet what can be too severe, or too harsh, toward men convicted of such an offence? But if scourging be a milder punishment than death, how is it consistent to observe the law as to the smaller point, when you disregard it as to the greater?

But who, it may be asked, will blame any severity that shall be decreed against these parricides of their country? I answer that time, the course of events, and fortune, whose caprice governs nations, may blame it. Whatever shall fall on the traitors, will fall on them justly; but it is for you, conscript fathers, to consider well what you resolve to inflict on others. All precedents productive of evil effects had had their origin from what was good; but when a government passes into the hands of the ignorant or unprincipled, any new example of severity, inflicted on deserving and suitable objects, is extended to those that are improper and undeserving of it. The Lacedæmonians, when they had conquered the Athenians, appointed thirty men to govern their state. These thirty began their ad-

ministration by putting to death, even without a trial, all who were notoriously wicked, or publicly detestable; acts at which the people rejoiced, and extolled their justice. But afterward, when their lawless power gradually increased, they proceeded, at their pleasure, to kill the good and bad indiscriminately, and to strike terror into all; and thus the state, overpowered and enslaved, paid a heavy penalty for its imprudent exultation.

Within our own memory, too, when the victorious Sylla ordered Damasippus, and others of similar character, who had risen by distressing their country, to be put to death, who did not commend the proceeding? All exclaimed that wicked and factious men, who had troubled the state with their seditious practices, had justly forfeited their lives. Yet this proceeding was the commencement of great bloodshed. For whenever any one coveted the mansion or villa, or even the plate or apparel of another, he exerted his influence to have him numbered among the proscribed. Thus they, to whom the death of Damasippus had been a subject of joy, were soon after dragged to death themselves; nor was there any cessation of slaughter, until Sylla had glutted all his partisans with riches.

Such excesses, indeed, I do not fear from Marcus Tullius, or in these times. But in a large state there arise many men of various dispositions. At some other period, and under another consul, who, like the present, may have an army at his command, some false accusation may be credited as true; and when, with our example for a precedent, the consul shall have drawn the sword on the authority of the senate, who shall stay its progress, or moderate its fury?

Our ancestors, conscript fathers, were never deficient in

conduct or courage; nor did pride prevent them from imitating the customs of other nations, if they appeared deserving of regard. Their armor, and weapons of war, they borrowed from the Samnites; their ensigns of authority, for the most part, from the Etrurians; and, in short, whatever appeared eligible to them, whether among allies or among enemies, they adopted at home with the greatest readiness, being more inclined to emulate merit than to be jealous of it. But at the same time, adopting a practice from Greece, they punished their citizens with the scourge, and inflicted capital punishment on such as were condemned. When the republic, however, became powerful, and faction grew strong from the vast number of citizens, men began to involve the innocent in condemnation, and other like abuses were practiced; and it was then that the Porcian and other laws were provided, by which condemned citizens were allowed to go into exile. This lenity of our ancestors, conscript fathers, I regard as a very strong reason why we should not adopt any new measures of severity. For assuredly there was greater merit and wisdom in those, who raised so mighty an empire from humble means, than in us, who can scarcely preserve what they so honorably acquired. Am I of opinion, then, you will ask, that the conspirators should be set free, and that the army of Catiline should thus be increased? Far from it; my recommendation is, that their property be confiscated, and that they themselves be kept in custody in such of the municipal towns as are best able to bear the expense; that no one hereafter bring their case before the senate, or speak on it to the people; and that the senate now give their opinion that he who shall act contrary to this, will act against the republic and the general safety.

CATO

SPEECH DELIVERED IN THE ROMAN SENATE ON THE TREATMENT OF THE CATILINARIAN CONSPIRATORS

MY feelings, conscript fathers, are extremely different, when I contemplate our circumstances and dangers, and when I revolve in my mind the sentiments of some who have spoken before me. Those speakers, as it seems to me, have considered only how to punish the traitors who have raised war against their country, their parents, their altars, and their homes; but the state of affairs warns us rather to secure ourselves against them, than to take counsel as to what sentence we should pass upon them. Other crimes you may punish after they have been committed; but as to this, unless you prevent its commission, you will, when it has once taken effect, in vain appeal to justice. When the city is taken, no power is left to the vanquished.

But, in the name of the immortal gods, I call upon you, who have always valued your mansions and villas, your statues and pictures, at a higher price than the welfare of your country; if you wish to preserve those possessions, of whatever kind they are, to which you are attached; if you wish to secure quiet for the enjoyment of your pleasures, arouse yourselves, and act in defence of your country. We are not now debating on the revenues, or on injuries done to our allies, but our liberty and our life is at stake.

Often, conscript fathers, have I spoken at great length



MARCUS CATO

in this assembly; often have I complained of the luxury and avarice of our citizens, and, by that very means, have incurred the displeasure of many. I, who never excused to myself, or to my own conscience, the commission of any fault, could not easily pardon the misconduct, or indulge the licentiousness, of others. But though you little regarded my remonstrances, yet the republic remained secure; its own strength was proof against your remissness. The question, however, at present under discussion, is not whether we live in a good or bad state of morals; nor how great, or how splendid, the empire of the Roman people is; but whether these things around us, of whatever value they are, are to continue our own, or to fall, with ourselves, into the hands of the enemy.

In such a case, does any one talk to me of gentleness and compassion? For some time past, it is true, we have lost the real names of things; for to lavish the property of others is called generosity, and audacity in wickedness is called heroism; and hence the state is reduced to the brink of ruin. But let those, who thus misname things, be liberal, since such is the practice, out of the property of our allies; let them be merciful to the robbers of the treasury; but let them not lavish our blood, and, while they spare a few criminals, bring destruction on all the guiltless.

Caius Cæsar, a short time ago, spoke in fair and elegant language, before this assembly, on the subject of life and death; considering as false, I suppose, what is told of the dead; that the bad, going a different way from the good, inhabit places gloomy, desolate, dreary, and full of horror. He accordingly proposed *that the property of the conspirators should be confiscated, and themselves kept in custody in the municipal towns*; fearing, it seems, that, if they remain at

Rome, they may be rescued either by their accomplices in the conspiracy, or by a hired mob; as if, forsooth, the mischievous and profligate were to be found only in the city, and not through the whole of Italy, or as if desperate attempts would not be more likely to succeed where there is less power to resist them. His proposal, therefore, if he fears any danger from them, is absurd; but if, amid such universal terror, he alone is free from alarm, it the more concerns me to fear for you and myself.

Be assured, then, that when you decide on the fate of Lentulus and the other prisoners, you at the same time determine that of the army of Catiline and of all the conspirators. The more spirit you display in your decision, the more will their confidence be diminished; but if they shall perceive you in the smallest degree irresolute, they will advance upon you with fury.

Do not suppose that our ancestors, from so small a commencement, raised the republic to greatness merely by force of arms. If such had been the case, we should enjoy it in a most excellent condition; for of allies and citizens, as well as arms and horses, we have a much greater abundance than they had. But there were other things which made them great, but which among us have no existence; such as industry at home, equitable government abroad, and minds impartial in council, uninfluenced by any immoral or improper feeling. Instead of such virtues, we have luxury and avarice; public distress, and private superfluity; we extol wealth, and yield to indolence; no distinction is made between good men and bad; and ambition usurps the honors due to virtue. Nor is this wonderful; since you study each his individual interest, and since at home you are slaves to pleasure, and here to money or favor; and hence

it happens that an attack is made on the defenceless state. But on these subjects I shall say no more. Certain citizens, of the highest rank, have conspired to ruin their country; they are engaging the Gauls, the bitterest foes of the Roman name, to join in a war against us; the leader of the enemy is ready to make a descent upon us; and do you hesitate, even in such circumstances, how to treat armed incendiaries arrested within your walls? I advise you to have mercy upon them; they are young men who have been led astray by ambition; send them away, even with arms in their hands. But such mercy and such clemency, if they turn those arms against you, will end in misery to yourselves. The case is, assuredly, dangerous, but you do not fear it; yes, you fear it greatly, but you hesitate how to act, through weakness and want of spirit, waiting one for another, and trusting to the immortal gods, who have so often preserved your country in the greatest dangers. But the protection of the gods is not obtained by vows and effeminate supplications; it is by vigilance, activity, and prudent measures, that general welfare is secured. When you are once resigned to sloth and indolence, it is in vain that you implore the gods; for they are then indignant and threaten vengeance.

In the days of our forefathers, Titus Manlius Torquatus, during a war with the Gauls, ordered his own son to be put to death, because he had fought with an enemy contrary to orders. That noble youth suffered for excess of bravery; and do you hesitate what sentence to pass on the most inhuman of traitors? Perhaps their former life is at variance with their present crime. Spare, then, the dignity of Lentulus, if he has ever spared his own honor or character, or had any regard for gods or for men. Pardon the youth

of Cethegus, unless this be the second time that he has made war upon his country. As to Gabinius, Statilius, Cœparius, why should I make any remark upon them? Had they ever possessed the smallest share of discretion, they would never have engaged in such a plot against their country.

In conclusion, conscript fathers, if there were time to amend an error, I might easily suffer you, since you disregard words, to be corrected by experience of consequences. But we are beset by dangers on all sides; Catiline, with his army, is ready to devour us; while there are other enemies within the walls, and in the heart of the city; nor can any measures be taken, or any plans arranged, without their knowledge. The more necessary is it, therefore, to act with promptitude. What I advise, then, is this: that since the state, by a treasonable combination of abandoned citizens, has been brought into the greatest peril; and since the conspirators have been convicted on the evidence of Titus Volturnicius, and the deputies of the Allobroges, and on their own confession, of having concerted massacres, conflagrations, and other horrible and cruel outrages, against their fellow-citizens and their country, punishment be inflicted, according to the usage of our ancestors, on the prisoners who have confessed their guilt, as on men convicted of capital crimes.

CICERO

SPEECH FOR AULUS LICINIUS ARCHIAS, THE POET

THE ARGUMENT

ARCHIAS was a Greek poet, a native of Antioch, who came to Rome in the train of Lucullus, when Cicero was a child. He assumed the names of Aulus and Licinius, the last out of compliment to the Luculli, and Cicero had been for some time a pupil of his, and had retained a great regard for him. A man of the name of Gracchus now prosecuted him as a false pretender to the rights of a Roman citizen, according to the provisions of the *lex Papiria*. But Cicero contends that he is justified by that very law, for Archias before coming to Rome had stayed at Heraclea, a confederate city, and had been enrolled as a Heracleian citizen; and in the *lex Papiria* it was expressly provided that those who were on the register of any confederate city as its citizens, if they were residing in Italy at the time the law was passed, and if they made a return of themselves to the prætor within sixty days, were to be exempt from its operation. However, the greater part of this oration is occupied, not in legal arguments, but in a panegyric on Archias, who is believed to have died soon afterward; and he must have been a very old man at the time that it was spoken, as it was nearly forty years previously that he had first come to Rome.

IF there be any natural ability in me, O judges—and I know how slight that is; or if I have any practice as a speaker—and in that line I do not deny that I have some experience; or if I have any method in my oratory, drawn from my study of the liberal sciences, and from that careful training to which I admit that at no part of my life have I ever been disinclined; certainly, of all those qualities, this Aulus Licinius is entitled to be among the first to claim the benefit from me as his peculiar right. For as far as ever my mind can look back upon the space of time

that is past, and recall the memory of its earliest youth, tracing my life from that starting-point, I see that Archias was the principal cause of my undertaking, and the principal means of my mastering, those studies. And if this voice of mine, formed by his encouragement and his precepts, has at times been the instrument of safety to others, undoubtedly we ought, as far as lies in our power, to help and save the very man from whom we have received that gift which has enabled us to bring help to many and salvation to some. And lest any one should, perchance, marvel at this being said by me, as the chief of his ability consists in something else, and not in this system and practice of eloquence, he must be told that even we ourselves have never been wholly devoted to this study. In truth, all the arts which concern the civilizing and humanizing of men, have some link which binds them together, and are, as it were, connected by some relationship to one another.

And, that it may not appear marvellous to any one of you, that I, in a formal proceeding like this, and in a regular court of justice, when an action is being tried before a prætor of the Roman people, a most eminent man, and before most impartial judges, before such an assembly and multitude of people as I see around me, employ this style of speaking, which is at variance, not only with the ordinary usages of courts of justice, but with the general style of forensic pleading; I entreat you in this cause to grant me this indulgence, suitable to this defendant, and as I trust not disagreeable to you—the indulgence, namely, of allowing me, when speaking in defence of a most sublime poet and most learned man, before this concourse of highly educated citizens, before this most polite and accomplished assembly, and before such a prætor as him who is presiding

at this trial, to enlarge with a little more freedom than usual on the study of polite literature and refined arts, and, speaking in the character of such a man as that, who, owing to the tranquillity of his life and the studies to which he has devoted himself, has but little experience of the dangers of a court of justice, to employ a new and unusual style of oratory. And if I feel that that indulgence is given and allowed me by you, I will soon cause you to think that this Aulus Licinius is a man who not only, now that he is a citizen, does not deserve to be expunged from the list of citizens, but that he is worthy, even if he were not one, of being now made a citizen.

For when first Archias grew out of childhood, and out of the studies of those arts by which young boys are gradually trained and refined, he devoted himself to the study of writing. First of all at Antioch (for he was born there, and was of high rank there), formerly an illustrious and wealthy city, and the seat of learned men and of liberal sciences; and there it was his lot speedily to show himself superior to all in ability and credit. Afterward, in the other parts of Asia, and over all Greece, his arrival was so talked of wherever he came that the anxiety with which he was expected was even greater than the fame of his genius; but the admiration which he excited when he had arrived, exceeded even the anxiety with which he was expected. Italy was at that time full of Greek science and of Greek systems, and these studies were at that time cultivated in Latium with greater zeal than they now are in the same towns; and here, too, at Rome, on account of the tranquil state of the republic at that time, they were far from neglected. Therefore, the people of Tarentum, and Rhegium, and Neapolis, presented him with the freedom of the city

and with other gifts; and all men who were capable of judging of genius thought him deserving of their acquaintance and hospitality. When, from this great celebrity of his, he had become known to us though absent, he came to Rome, in the consulship of Marius and Catulus. It was his lot to have those men as his first consuls, the one of whom could supply him with the most illustrious achievements to write about, the other could give him, not only exploits to celebrate, but his ears and judicious attention. Immediately the Luculli, though Archias was as yet but a youth, received him in their house. But it was not only to his genius and his learning, but also to his natural disposition and virtue, that it must be attributed that the house which was the first to be opened to him in his youth, is also the one in which he lives most familiarly in his old age. He at that time gained the affection of Quintus Metellus, that great man who was the conqueror of Numidia, and his son Pius. He was eagerly listened to by Marcus Æmilus; he associated with Quintus Catulus—both with the father and the sons. He was highly respected by Lucius Crassus; and as for the Luculli, and Drusus, and the Octavii, and Cato, and the whole family of the Hortensii, he was on terms of the greatest possible intimacy with all of them, and was held by them in the greatest honor. For, not only did every one cultivate his acquaintance who wished to learn or to hear anything, but even every one pretended to have such a desire.

In the meantime, after a sufficiently long interval, having gone with Lucius Lucullus into Sicily, and having afterward departed from that province in the company of the same Lucullus, he came to Heraclea. And as that city was one which enjoyed all the rights of a confederate city to

their full extent, he became desirous of being enrolled as a citizen of it. And, being thought deserving of such a favor for his own sake, when aided by the influence and authority of Lucullus, he easily obtained it from the Heracleans. The freedom of the city was given him in accordance with the provisions of the law of Silvanus and Carbo: "If any men had been enrolled as citizens of the confederate cities, and if, at the time that the law was passed, they had a residence in Italy, and if within sixty days they had made a return of themselves to the prætor." As he had now had a residence at Rome for many years, he returned himself as a citizen to the prætor, Quintus Metellus, his most intimate friend. If we have nothing else to speak about except the rights of citizenship and the law, I need say no more. The cause is over. For which of all these statements, O Gratius, can be invalidated? Will you deny that he was enrolled, at the time I speak of, as a citizen of Heraclea? There is a man present of the very highest authority, a most scrupulous and truthful man, Lucius Lucullus, who will tell you not that he thinks it, but that he knows it; not that he has heard of it, but that he saw it; not even that he was present when it was done, but that he actually did it himself. Deputies from Heraclea are present, men of the highest rank; they have come expressly on account of this trial, with a commission from their city, and to give evidence on the part of their city; and they say that he was enrolled as a Heracleian. On this, you ask for the public registers of the Heracleans, which we all know were destroyed in the Italian war, when the register office was burned. It is ridiculous to say nothing to the proofs which we have, but to ask for proofs which it is impossible for us to have; to disregard the recollection of men, and to appeal to the memory

of documents; and when you have the conscientious evidence of a most honorable man, the oath and good faith of a most respectable municipality, to reject those things which cannot by any possibility be tampered with, and to demand documentary evidence, though you say at the same moment that that is constantly played tricks with. "But he had no residence at Rome." What, not he who, for so many years before the freedom of the city was given to him, had established the abode of all his property and fortunes at Rome? "But he did not return himself." Indeed he did, and in that return which alone obtains with the college of prætors the authority of a public document.

For as the returns of Appius were said to have been kept carelessly, and as the trifling conduct of Gabinius, before he was convicted, and his misfortune after his condemnation, had taken away all credit from the public registers, Metellus, the most scrupulous and moderate of all men, was so careful, that he came to Lucius Lentulus, the prætor, and to the judges, and said that he was greatly vexed at an erasure which appeared in one name. In these documents, therefore, you will see no erasure affecting the name of Aulus Licinius. And as this is the case, what reason have you for doubting about his citizenship, especially as he was enrolled as a citizen of other cities also? In truth, as men in Greece were in the habit of giving rights of citizenship to many men of very ordinary qualifications, and endowed with no talents at all, or with very moderate ones, without any payment, it is likely, I suppose, that the Rhegians, and Locrians, and Neapolitans, and Tarentines, should have been unwilling to give to this man, enjoying the highest possible reputation for genius, what they were in the habit of giving even to theatrical artists. What, when other men, who not

only after the freedom of the city had been given, but even after the passing of the Papian law, crept somehow or other into the registers of those municipalities, shall be rejected who does not avail himself of those other lists in which he is enrolled, because he always wished to be considered a Heracleian? You demand to see our own censor's returns. I suppose no one knows that at the time of the last census he was with that most illustrious general, Lucius Lucullus, with the army; that at the time of the preceding one he was with the same man when he was in Asia as quæstor; and that in the census before that, when Julius and Crassus were censors, no regular account of the people was taken. But, since the census does not confirm the right of citizenship, but only indicates that he, who is returned in the census, did at that time claim to be considered as a citizen, I say that, at that time, when you say, in your speech for the prosecution, that he did not even himself consider that he had any claim to the privileges of a Roman citizen, he more than once made a will according to our laws, and he entered upon inheritances left him by Roman citizens; and he was made honorable mention of by Lucius Lucullus, both as prætor and as consul, in the archives kept in the treasury.

You must rely wholly on what arguments you can find. For he will never be convicted either by his own opinion of his case, or by that which is formed of it by his friends.

You ask us, O Grattius, why we are so exceedingly attached to this man. Because he supplies us with food whereby our mind is refreshed after this noise in the forum, and with rest for our ears after they have been wearied with bad language. Do you think it possible that we could find a supply for our daily speeches, when discussing such a variety of matters, unless we were to cultivate

our minds by the study of literature; or that our minds could bear being kept so constantly on the stretch if we did not relax them by that same study? But I confess that I am devoted to those studies; let others be ashamed of them if they have buried themselves in books without being able to produce anything out of them for the common advantage, or anything which may bear the eyes of men and the light. But why need I be ashamed, who for many years have lived in such a manner as never to allow my own love of tranquillity to deny me to the necessity or advantage of another, or my fondness for pleasure to distract, or even sleep to delay my attention to such claims? Who, then, can reproach me, or who has any right to be angry with me, if I allow myself as much time for the cultivation of these studies as some take for the performance of their own business, or for celebrating days of festival and games, or for other pleasures, or even for the rest and refreshment of mind and body, or as others devote to early banquets, to playing at dice, or at ball? And this ought to be permitted to me, because by these studies my power of speaking and those faculties are improved which, as far as they do exist in me, have never been denied to my friends when they have been in peril. And if that ability appears to any one to be but moderate, at all events I know whence I derive those principles which are of the greatest value. For if I had not persuaded myself from my youth upward, both by the precepts of many masters and by much reading, that there is nothing in life greatly to be desired, except praise and honor, and that while pursuing those things all tortures of the body, all dangers of death and banishment are to be considered but of small importance, I should never have exposed myself, in defence of your safety, to such numer-

ous and arduous contests, and to these daily attacks of profligate men. But all books are full of such precepts, and all the sayings of philosophers, and all antiquity is full of precedents teaching the same lesson; but all these things would lie buried in darkness, if the light of literature and learning were not applied to them. How many images of the bravest men, carefully elaborated, have both the Greek and Latin writers bequeathed to us, not merely for us to look at and gaze upon, but also for our imitation! And I, always keeping them before my eyes as examples for my own public conduct, have endeavored to model my mind and views by continually thinking of those excellent men.

Some one will ask, "What? were those identical great men, whose virtues have been recorded in books, accomplished in all that learning which you are extolling so highly?" It is difficult to assert this of all of them; but still I know what answer I can make to that question: I admit that many men have existed of admirable disposition and virtue, who, without learning, by the almost divine instinct of their own mere nature, have been, of their own accord, as it were, moderate and wise men. I even add this, that very often nature without learning has had more to do with leading men to credit and to virtue than learning when not assisted by a good natural disposition. And I also contend, that when to an excellent and admirable natural disposition there is added a certain system and training of education, then from that combination arises an extraordinary perfection of character; such as is seen in that godlike man whom our fathers saw in their time, Africanus; and in Caius Lælius and Lucius Furius, most virtuous and moderate men; and in that most excellent man, the most learned man of his time, Marcus Cato the

elder; and all these men, if they had been to derive no assistance from literature in the cultivation and practice of virtue, would never have applied themselves to the study of it. Though, even if there were no such great advantage to be reaped from it, and if it were only pleasure that is sought from these studies, still I imagine you would consider it a most reasonable and liberal employment of the mind: for other occupations are not suited to every time, nor to every age or place; but these studies are the food of youth, the delight of old age; the ornament of prosperity, the refuge and comfort of adversity; a delight at home, and no hindrance abroad; they are companions by night, and in travel; and in the country.

And if we ourselves were not able to arrive at these advantages, nor even taste them with our senses, still we ought to admire them, even when we saw them in others. Who of us was of so ignorant and brutal a disposition as not lately to be grieved at the death of Roscius? who, though he was an old man when he died, yet, on account of the excellence and beauty of his art, appeared to be one who on every account ought not to have died. Therefore, had he by the gestures of his body gained so much of our affections, and shall we disregard the incredible movements of the mind, and the rapid operations of genius? How often have I seen this man Archias, O judges (for I will take advantage of your kindness, since you listen to me so attentively while speaking in this unusual manner)—how often have I seen him, when he had not written a single word, repeat extempore a great number of admirable verses on the very events which were passing at the moment! How often have I seen him go back, and describe the same thing over again with an entire change of language and

ideas! And what he wrote with care and with much thought, that I have seen admired to such a degree, as to equal the credit of even the writings of the ancients. Should not I, then, love this man? should I not admire him? should not I think it my duty to defend him in every possible way? And, indeed, we have constantly heard from men of the greatest eminence and learning, that the study of other sciences was made up of learning, and rules, and regular method; but that a poet was such by the unassisted work of nature, and was moved by the vigor of his own mind, and was inspired, as it were, by some divine wrath. Wherefore rightly does our own great Ennius call poets holy; because they seem to be recommended to us by some especial gift, as it were, and liberality of the gods. Let then, judges, this name of poet, this name which no barbarians even have ever disregarded, be holy in your eyes, men of cultured minds as you all are. Rocks and deserts reply to the poet's voice; savage beasts are often moved and arrested by song; and shall we, who have been trained in the pursuit of the most virtuous acts, refuse to be swayed by the voice of poets? The Colophonians say that Homer was their citizen; the Chians claim him as theirs; the Salaminians assert their right to him; but the men of Smyrna loudly assert him to be a citizen of Smyrna, and they have even raised a temple to him in their city. Many other places also fight with one another for the honor of being his birthplace.

They, then, claim a stranger, even after his death, because he was a poet; shall we reject this man while he is alive, a man who by his own inclination and by our laws does actually belong to us? especially when Archias has employed all his genius with the utmost zeal in celebrating

the glory and renown of the Roman people? For when a young man, he touched on our wars against the Cimbri, and gained the favor even of Caius Marius himself, a man who was tolerably proof against this sort of study. For there was no one so disinclined to the Muses as not willingly to endure that the praise of his labors should be made immortal by means of verse. They say that the great Themistocles, the greatest man that Athens produced, said, when some one asked him what sound or whose voice he took the greatest delight in hearing, "The voice of him by whom his own exploits were best celebrated." Therefore, the great Marius was also exceedingly attached to Lucius Plotius, because he thought that the achievement which he had performed could be celebrated by his genius. And the whole Mithridatic war, great and difficult as it was, and carried on with so much diversity of fortune by land and sea, has been related at length by him; and the books in which that is sung of not only make illustrious Lucius Lucullus, that most gallant and celebrated man, but they do honor also to the Roman people. For, while Lucullus was general, the Roman people opened Pontus, though it was defended both by the resources of the king and by the character of the country itself. Under the same general the army of the Roman people with no very great numbers, routed the countless hosts of the Armenians. It is the glory of the Roman people that, by the wisdom of that same general, the city of the Cyzicenes, most friendly to us, was delivered and preserved from all the attacks of the kind, and from the very jaws as it were of the whole war. Ours is the glory which will be forever celebrated, which is derived from the fleet of the enemy which was sunk after its admirals had been slain,

and from the marvellous naval battle off Tenedos: those trophies belong to us, those monuments are ours, those triumphs are ours. Therefore, I say that the men by whose genius these exploits are celebrated, make illustrious at the same time the glory of the Roman people. Our countryman, Ennius, was dear to the elder Africanus; and even on the tomb of the Scipios his effigy is believed to be visible, carved in the marble. But undoubtedly it is not only the men who are themselves praised who are done honor to by those praises, but the name of the Roman people also is adorned by them. Cato, the ancestor of this Cato, is extolled to the skies. Great honor is paid to the exploits of the Roman people. Lastly, all those great men, the Maximi, the Marcelli, and the Fulvii, are done honor to, not without all of us having also a share in the panegyric.

Therefore our ancestors received the man who was the cause of all this, a man of Rudiaë, into their city as a citizen; and shall we reject from our city a man of Heraclea, a man sought by many cities, and made a citizen of ours by these very laws?

For if any one thinks that there is a smaller gain of glory derived from Greek verses than from Latin ones, he is greatly mistaken, because Greek poetry is read among all nations, Latin is confined to its own natural limits, which are narrow enough. Wherefore, if those achievements which we have performed are limited only by the bounds of the whole world, we ought to desire that, wherever our vigor and our arms have penetrated, our glory and our fame should likewise extend. Because, as this is always an ample reward for those people whose achievements are the subject of writings, so especially is it the greatest inducement to encounter labors and dangers

to all men who fight for themselves for the sake of glory. How many historians of his exploits is Alexander the Great said to have had with him; and he, when standing on Cape Sigeum at the grave of Achilles, said, "O happy youth, to find Homer as the panegyrist of your glory!" And he said the truth; for, if the *Iliad* had not existed, the same tomb which covered his body would have also buried his renown. What, did not our own Magnus, whose valor has been equal to his fortune, present Theophanes the Mitylenæan, a relater of his actions, with the freedom of the city in an assembly of the soldiers? And those brave men, our countrymen, soldiers and country-bred men as they were, still being moved by the sweetness of glory, as if they were to some extent partakers of the same renown, showed their approbation of that action with a great shout. Therefore, I suppose, if Archias were not a Roman citizen according to the laws, he could not have contrived to get presented with the freedom of the city by some general! Sylla, when he was giving it to the Spaniards and Gauls, would, I suppose, have refused him if he had asked for it! a man whom we ourselves saw in the public assembly, when a bad poet of the common people had put a book in his hand, because he had made an epigram on him with every other verse too long, immediately ordered some of the things which he was selling at the moment to be given him as a reward, on condition of not writing anything more about him for the future. Would not he who thought the industry of a bad poet still worthy of some reward, have sought out the genius, and excellence, and copiousness in writing of this man? What more need I say? Could he not have obtained the freedom of the city from Quintus Metellus Pius, his own most intimate friend, who gave it to many men,

either by his own request, or by the intervention of the Luculli? especially when Metellus was so anxious to have his own deeds celebrated in writing, that he gave his attention willingly to poets born even at Cordova, whose poetry had a very heavy and foreign flavor.

For this should not be concealed, which cannot possibly be kept in the dark, but it might be avowed openly: we are all influenced by a desire of praise, and the best men are the most especially attracted by glory. Those very philosophers even in the books which they write about despising glory, put their own names on the title-page. In the very act of recording their contempt for renown and notoriety, they desire to have their own names known and talked of. Decimus Brutus, that most excellent citizen and consummate general, adorned the approaches to his temples and monuments with the verses of Attius. And lately that great man Fulvius, who fought with the *Ætolians*, having Ennius for his companion, did not hesitate to devote the spoils of Mars to the Muses. Wherefore, in a city in which generals, almost in arms, have paid respect to the name of poets and to the temples of the Muses, these judges in the garb of peace ought not to act in a manner inconsistent with the honor of the Muses and the safety of poets.

And that you may do that the more willingly, I will now reveal my own feelings to you, O judges, and I will make a confession to you of my own love of glory—too eager, perhaps, but still honorable. For this man has in his verses touched upon and begun the celebration of the deeds which we in our consulship did in union with you, for the safety of this city and empire, and in defence of the life of the citizens and of the whole republic. And when I had heard his commencement, because it appeared to me

to be a great subject and at the same time an agreeable one. I encouraged him to complete his work. For virtue seeks no other reward for its labors and its dangers beyond that of praise and renown; and if that be denied to it, what reason is there, O judges, why in so small and brief a course of life as is allotted to us we should impose such labors on ourselves? Certainly, if the mind had no anticipations of posterity, and if it were to confine all its thoughts within the same limits as those by which the space of our lives is bounded, it would neither break itself with such severe labors, nor would it be tormented with such cares and sleepless anxiety, nor would it so often have to fight for its very life. At present there is a certain virtue in every good man, which night and day stirs up the mind with the stimulus of glory, and reminds it that all mention of our name will not cease at the same time with our lives, but that our fame will endure to all posterity.

Do we all who are occupied in the affairs of the state, and who are surrounded by such perils and dangers in life, appear to be so narrow-minded, as, though to the last moment of our lives we have never passed one tranquil or easy moment, to think that everything will perish at the same time as ourselves? Ought we not, when many most illustrious men have with great care collected and left behind them statues and images, representations not of their minds but of their bodies, much more to desire to leave behind us a copy of our counsels and of our virtues, wrought and elaborated by the greatest genius? I thought, at the very moment of performing them that I was scattering and disseminating all the deeds which I was performing all over the world for the eternal recollection of nations. And whether that delight is to be denied to my soul after

death, or whether, as the wisest men have thought, it will affect some portion of my spirit, at all events, I am at present delighted with some such idea and hope.

Preserve then, O judges, a man of such virtue as that of Archias, which you see testified to you not only by the worth of his friends, but by the length of time during which they have been such to him and of such genius as you ought to think is his, when you see that it has been sought by most illustrious men. And his cause is one which is approved of by the benevolence of the law, by the authority of his municipality, by the testimony of Lucullus, and by the documentary evidence of Metellus. And as this is the case, we do entreat you, O judges, if there may be any weight attached, I will not say to human, but even to divine recommendation in such important matters, to receive under your protection that man who has at all times done honor to your generals and to the exploits of the Roman people—who even in these recent perils of our own, and in your domestic dangers, promises to give an eternal testimony of praise in our favor, and who forms one of that band of poets who have at all times and in all nations been considered and called holy, so that he may seem relieved by your humanity, rather than overwhelmed by your severity.

The things which, according to my custom, I have said briefly and simply, O judges, I trust have been approved by all of you. Those things which I have spoken, without regarding the habits of the forum or judicial usage, both concerning the genius of the man and my own zeal in his behalf, I trust have been received by you in good part. That they have been so by him who presides at this trial, I am quite certain.

PLINY THE YOUNGER



AULUS PLINIUS CÆCILIUS SECUNDUS, Roman author, and nephew of the elder Pliny, was born at Novum Comum (Como, Italy), in 62 A.D., and died in the year 113. After studying rhetoric under Quintilian, he began, at the age of nineteen, his career as advocate. He subsequently served in Syria as a military tribune, was a quæstor under Domitian, and consul under the emperor Trajan. About the year 112 he governed Bithynia and Pontica as imperial legate. He was more or less of a *dilettante*, painstaking, very desirous of making a literary reputation, and amiable, but lacking in force of character and original thought. He was a contemporary and friend of the historian and orator, Tacitus. His "Panegyric on Trajan" is his only speech which really possessed vitality, while his letters, which exhibit his self-complacency, form entertaining reading. They are also instructive, as they relate to the treatment of the Christians in his province.

PANEGYRIC IN PRAISE OF TRAJAN

[The following panegyric was pronounced by Pliny as an expression of his gratitude toward Trajan, who had recently appointed him consul.]

IT WAS a good and wise custom of our ancestors to begin no act or speech without prayer. They believed it only proper and prudent to reverence the gods and seek their aid and guidance. How much more ought we now to have recourse to prayer when, by command of the senate and the will of the people, your consul is about to make an expression of gratitude to a good prince! For what gift of the gods is better or nobler than a chaste, pious, godlike prince? And I am sure that even if there were still doubt as to whether rulers are given to the world by chance or by divine will, we should all feel that our prince was chosen by divine direction. For he was not found out by the secret power of fate, but by the open manifestation of Jupiter's will, and was chosen amid sacred altars in the same temple in which Jupiter dwells in person as clearly as he does in the starry heavens. It is

therefore all the more fitting that I should turn in prayer to thee, Jupiter, most mighty and good, and ask that my address may prove worthy of me as consul, worthy of our senate, and worthy of our prince; that my words may bear the stamp of freedom, faith, and truth, and lack as much the semblance, as they do the need, of flattery.

Not only a consul, but every citizen, should strive to say nothing of our prince that might seem proper enough if spoken of some other prince. Let us, therefore, repress the utterances of fear. Let us speak as we feel. Let us emphasize clearly in our discourse the difference between the present and the past. Let our language show unmistakably that it is Trajan we thank, and his age that we praise. But let us not address him with the flattering title of a god or divinity; for we speak not of a tyrant, but of a fellow citizen; not of a master, but of a father. He boasts that he is one of us; nor does he forget that he is only a man, though the ruler of men. Let us, then, appreciate our good fortune and prove ourselves worthy of it. Let us, too, consider again and again how unworthy it would be to show greater regard for princes who rejoice in the servitude of their fellow citizens than for those who rejoice in their freedom. The people of Rome, who have retained the right to choose their princes, now praise the courage of Trajan as enthusiastically as they did the beauty of Domitian, and applaud his devotion, self-restraint, and humanity as vociferously as they did the voice and the bearing of Nero. What, then, shall we commend? The divinity of our prince, his culture, his self-control, or his affability? We can do nothing worthier of our citizens and our senate than we have already done in conferring on him the surname of the Good—a title made peculiarly his by the arrogance of former princes. It is only natural and reasonable, then, that

we should esteem ourselves happy and our prince happy, and pray that he may ever do deeds deserving of our praise. At all this he is affected even to tears, for he knows and feels that we speak of him as a man, not as a prince.

Let us retain, then, individually, in the hour of calm reflection, the same spirit that we had in the first heat of our devotion; and let us bear in mind that there is no kind of gratitude more sincere or more acceptable than that which, like the acclamations of the populace, is too spontaneous to be feigned. So far as I can, I shall try to adapt my address to the modesty and moderation of our prince, and shall consider not less what his delicacy will permit than what his merits deserve. It is the peculiar glory of our prince that, when I am about to render him an expression of gratitude, I fear not that he will think me niggardly, but lavish in his praise. This is my only anxiety; this my only difficulty. For it is an easy matter to render thanks to one who deserves them. Nor is there any danger that he will mistake the praise of culture for the censure of conceit; the praise of frugality for the censure of luxury; the praise of clemency for the censure of cruelty; the praise of liberality for the censure of avarice; the praise of benignity for the censure of malice; the praise of continence for the censure of lust; the praise of industry for the censure of laziness; or the praise of courage for the censure of fear. I do not even fear that I shall seem grateful or ungrateful according as I say a great deal or very little. For I have observed that even the gods themselves are pleased not so much by flawless perfection in the form of prayer, as by the uprightness and piety of their votaries. They prefer him who brings to their altars a pure heart, to him who brings a studied prayer.

But I must comply with the will of the senate, which has

decreed for the public advantage that the consul, by way of an address of thanks, shall remind good princes of what they have done, and bad princes of what they ought to do. This is all the more necessary now because our prince suppresses all private expressions of gratitude, and would prevent also public ones if he were permitted to forbid what the senate has decreed. In both cases, Cæsar Augustus, you show moderation; for, in permitting here the expression of gratitude that you forbid in private, you honor not yourself, but us. Since, then, you have yielded to our wishes, the important thing is not for us to proclaim your merits, but for you to hear them.

I have often reflected how good and great the man should be whose beck and nod control the earth and sea, peace and war. But I should never, even if I had power equal to that of the gods, have conceived of a prince like ours. One man becomes great in war, but sinks into obscurity in peace. Another gains distinction in the arts of peace, but not in the profession of arms. One is feared because he is cruel; another loved because he is humble. One loses in public life the renown he gained in private; another loses in private life his public reputation. In short, there has been no prince in the past whose virtues have not been tarnished by vices. But our prince has obtained unprecedented praise and glory. His seriousness is not lessened by his cheerfulness, his gravity by his simplicity, or his dignity by his humanity. He is steady, tall, and stately in mien and bearing; and though he is in the prime of life his hair is becoming gray — a sign of approaching age. These are the marks that proclaim the prince. . . .

But though you possessed the proper qualifications, Cæsar, you were unwilling to become emperor. You had therefore to be forced. Yet you could not have been forced but for the

danger that threatened our country; you would not have assumed the imperial power were it not to save the empire. And I feel sure that the prætorians revolted because great force and danger were necessary to overcome your modesty. Just as the sea is calmer, and the sky clearer, after a storm, so the peace and security we now enjoy under your rule is greater after that uprising. So through all the vicissitudes of life adversity follows prosperity, prosperity adversity. The source of both lies hidden. Indeed the causes of good and evil in general deceive us by false appearances.

The revolt of the prætorians was a great disgrace to our age, a grave injury to the commonwealth. The emperor and father of the human race was besieged, taken, and shut up; the power of saving men was taken from the mildest of old men; our prince was deprived of his most salutary power—freedom of action. If only such calamity could induce you to assume the reins of government I should say that it was worth the price. The discipline of the camp was corrupted, that you might correct it; a bad example was set, that you might set a good one; finally a prince was forced to put men to death against his will, that he might give the world a prince who could not be forced. You were destined to be adopted at some time or other; but we should never have known how much the empire owed you, had you been adopted sooner. Adopted by the emperor and called upon by your countrymen, you responded as did the great generals of old when summoned from abroad to defend their country. Thus father and son made an exchange at one and the same time: he gave you the empire; you restored it to him. Nay you even put the giver under obligation; for in sharing the imperial power with him you assumed the burden of care, while he enjoyed greater security. . . .

During the preceding reigns the barbarians had become insolent, and no longer struggled to gain their liberty, but fought to enslave us. But on your accession they were again inspired with fear and a willingness to obey your commands. For they saw that you were a general of the old stamp — one of those who had earned their title on fields heaped high with slaughter, or on seas resounding with the shouts of victory. The result is that we now accept hostages; we do not buy them. Nor do we now make peace on disadvantageous terms in order to keep up the appearance of success. Our enemies seek and implore peace; we grant or deny it according as the dignity of the empire requires. Those who obtain their request thank us; those to whom it is denied dare not complain, for they know that you have attacked the fiercest nations at that very time of the year which has hitherto been deemed most favorable for them and most unfavorable for us. I mean the season when the Danube is spanned with ice and supports on its hardened back the ponderous engines of war — the season when the savage tribes of the north are armed, not only with weapons, but with the fury of the elements. But the elements have no terrors for you, and on your approach the enemy shut themselves up in their hiding-places while our troops cross the river triumphantly and hurl against the barbarians the fury of their own winter. Such is the awe with which you have inspired the barbarians. . . .

Above all we ought to feel grateful because you allow the men whom you have made consuls to act with consular power. You offer no dangers, no causes of fear, to swerve the consuls from their duty; they listen to nothing against their will, nor do they make decrees under compulsion. The dignity of the office still remains and will remain; and the consuls will not lose their security while they continue in power. If by any

chance the consular power is diminished, the fault will be ours, not that of our age; for so far as our prince is concerned men may now be consuls who were formerly princes. Is there any adequate return we can make for the benefits we have received? None, except that we can always remember that we were consuls under you. Let us feel and vote, then, as becomes the dignity of our office, and let our conduct show that we believe the commonwealth still exists. Let us not withdraw our counsel or active service, or feel that we have been severed from the consulate, but rather let us feel that we are inseparably bound up with it. Finally let us cheerfully endure the labors and cares of our office; its honors and dignity we enjoy in full measure.

In conclusion I invoke upon all mankind the blessing of the guardian gods of our empire; and I pray you, especially, Jupiter Capitolinus, to favor us and add to all your other gifts the gift of perpetuity. You have heard us curse a wicked prince; now hear us bless a good one. We shall not weary you with a multitude of prayers; for we ask not peace, or security, or wealth, or honors; our simple and all-embracing prayer is the health of our prince. Nor will you be reluctant to grant it; for you already received him under your protection when you snatched him from the clutches of a rapacious robber. Otherwise, at a time when the high and mighty of the empire were shaken, he who was higher than all could not have stood unmoved. He remained unnoticed by a bad prince, though he could not but attract the attention of a good prince. If, then, he rules the empire well and for the advantage of all, I ask you, Jupiter, to spare him for our grandsons and great-grandsons, and to give him a successor of his own blood whom he shall have instructed and made worthy of adoption; or, if fate deny him this, I ask you to

point out to him some one worthy of being adopted in the Capitol.

My indebtedness to you, conscript fathers, I need hardly speak of, for it is recorded on public monuments. You have borne witness in a most gratifying manner to the peace and quiet of my tribuneship, to my moderation and discretion as prætor, and to the zeal and constancy with which I looked after the interests of our allies. You have approved, too, of my appointment as consul with such unanimity as to show me that I must make a constant effort to retain and increase your good will, for I know that we cannot tell whether a candidate deserves office until he has obtained it. Although I saw, then, what short roads led to office, I preferred the longer road of honor. I have passed through a period of gloom and fear to an era of security and happiness. I have been hated by a bad prince; I love a good one. I shall always, therefore, show you the respect and deference due you from a man who looks upon himself not as a consul or ex-consul, but as a candidate for the consulship.

[Specially translated by Francis P. Garland.]

SAINT AUGUSTINE



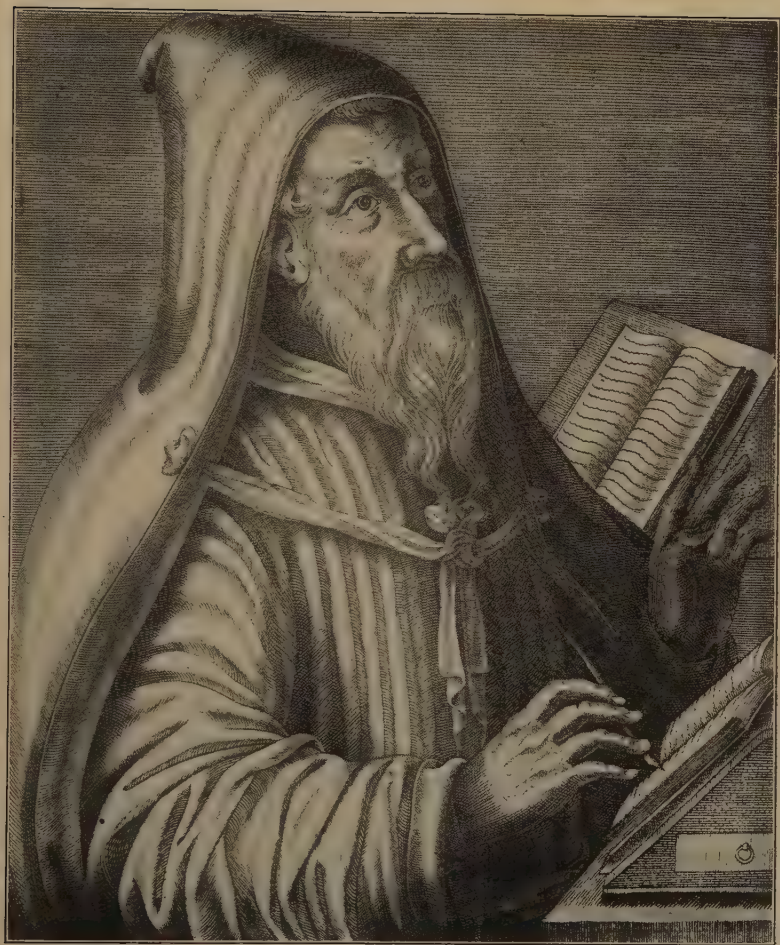
URELIUS, SAINT AUGUSTINE, bishop of Hippo, in Numidia, and the greatest of the fathers of the Latin Church, was born at Tagaste, Nov. 13, 354 A.D., and died at Hippo, Aug. 28, 430. He studied at Carthage, where he afterward taught rhetoric and became a teacher of literature at Milan. There he came under the influence of Ambrose, bishop of Milan, by whom he was baptized, to the great joy of Augustine's saintly mother, Monica. In 386, he returned to Africa, a reformed and converted man, and there lived the life of a recluse, selling his estates to give him the money to dispense in charity. In 391, he proceeded to Hippo, where he became a zealous preacher and writer, infusing spirituality into the churches of the region and counselling and cheering the citizens of Hippo when the city was besieged during the Vandal invasion of Africa. In 395, he became bishop, and died thirty-five years later. While bishop he was involved in three great controversies, with the Donatists, Pelagians, and Manichæans, and was especially imbued with the theology of St. Paul. His writings partook of the character of his saintly life, enriched by faith, and by an abounding zeal for the cause of religion. The best known of his works are his "Confessions," together with "De Civitate Dei" — "Of the City of God."

DISCOURSE ON THE LORD'S PRAYER

"Our Father which art in heaven, Hallowed be thy name. Thy kingdom come. Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." — Matt. vi, 9-13.

THE order established for your edification requires that ye learn first what to believe, and afterward what to ask. For so saith the Apostle, "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." This testimony blessed Paul cited out of the prophet; for by the prophet were those times foretold when all men should call upon God; "Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved." And he added, "How then shall they call on him in whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? Or how shall

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ST. AUGUSTINE

they hear without a preacher? Or how shall they preach except they be sent?" Therefore were preachers sent. They preached Christ. As they preached, the people heard; by hearing they believed, and by believing called upon him. Because, then, it was most rightly and most truly said, "How shall they call on him in whom they have not believed?" therefore have ye first learned what to believe: and to-day have learned to call on him in whom ye have believed.

The Son of God, our Lord Jesus Christ, hath taught us a prayer; and though he be the Lord himself, as ye have heard and repeated in the Creed, the only Son of God, yet he would not be alone. He is the only Son, and yet would not be alone; he hath vouchsafed to have brethren. For to whom doth he say, "Say, Our Father which art in heaven"? Whom did he wish us to call our Father save his own Father? Did he grudge us this? Parents sometimes, when they have gotten one, or two, or three children, fear to give birth to any more, lest they reduce the rest to beggary. But because the inheritance which he promised us is such as many may possess and no one be straitened, therefore hath he called into his brotherhood the peoples of the nations; and the only Son hath numberless brethren who say, "Our Father which art in heaven." So said they who have been before us; and so shall say those who will come after us. See how many brethren the only Son hath in his grace, sharing his inheritance with those for whom he suffered death. We had a father and mother on earth, that we might be born to labors and to death: but we have found other parents, God our Father, and the Church our Mother, by whom we are born unto life eternal. Let us then consider, beloved, whose children we have begun to be; and let us live so as becomes those who have such a Father. See how that our Creator had condescended to be our Father!

We have heard whom we ought to call upon, and with what hope of an eternal inheritance we have begun to have a Father in heaven; let us now hear what we must ask of him. Of such a Father what shall we ask? Do we not ask rain of him to-day, and yesterday, and the day before? This is no great thing to have asked of such a Father, and yet ye see with what sighings and with what great desire we ask for rain when death is feared,—when that is feared which none can escape. For sooner or later every man must die, and we groan, and pray, and travail in pain, and cry to God, that we may die a little later. How much more ought we to cry to him that we may come to that place where we shall never die!

Therefore is it said, “Hallowed be thy name.” This we also ask of him that his name may be hallowed in us; for holy is it always. And how is his name hallowed in us, except while it makes us holy? For once we were not holy, and we are made holy by his name; but he is always holy, and his name always holy. It is for ourselves, not for God, that we pray. For we do not wish well to God, to whom no ill can ever happen. But we wish what is good for ourselves, that his holy name may be hallowed, that that which is always holy may be hallowed in us.

“Thy kingdom come.” Come it surely will, whether we ask or no. Indeed, God hath an eternal kingdom. For when did he not reign? When did he begin to reign? For his kingdom hath no beginning, neither shall it have any end. But that ye may know that in this prayer also we pray for ourselves, and not for God (for we do not say “Thy kingdom come” as though we were asking that God may reign), we shall be ourselves his kingdom if, believing in him, we make progress in this faith. All the faithful, redeemed by the

blood of his only Son, will be his kingdom. And this his kingdom will come when the resurrection of the dead shall have taken place; for then he will come himself. And when the dead are arisen he will divide them, as he himself saith, "and he shall set some on the right hand, and some on the left." To those who shall be on the right hand he will say, "Come, ye blessed of my Father, receive the kingdom." This is what we wish and pray for when we say, "Thy kingdom come,"—that it may come to us. For if we shall be reprobates, that kingdom will come to others, but not to us. But if we shall be of that number who belong to the members of his only-begotten Son, his kingdom will come to us and will not tarry. For are there as many ages yet remaining as have already passed away? The apostle John hath said, "My little children, it is the last hour." But it is a long hour proportioned to this long day; and see how many years this last hour lasteth. But, nevertheless, be ye as those who watch, and so sleep, and rise again, and reign. Let us watch now, let us sleep in death; at the end we shall rise again and shall reign without end.

"Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth." The third thing we pray for is that his will may be done as in heaven so in earth. And in this too we wish well for ourselves. For the will of God must necessarily be done. It is the will of God that the good should reign and the wicked be damned. Is it possible that this will should not be done? But what good do we wish ourselves when we say, "Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth?" Give ear. For this petition may be understood in many ways, and many things are to be in our thoughts in this petition when we pray God, "Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth." As thy angels offend thee not, so may we also not offend thee. Again, how is "Thy will be done as in heaven, so

in earth," understood? All the holy patriarchs, all the prophets, all the apostles, all the spiritual are, as it were, God's heaven; and we in comparison of them are earth. "Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth;" as in them, so in us also. Again, "Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth;" the Church of God is heaven, his enemies are earth. So we wish well for our enemies, that they too may believe and become Christians, and so the will of God be done as in heaven, so also in earth. Again, "Thy will be done as in heaven, so in earth." Our spirit is heaven, and the flesh earth. As our spirit is renewed by believing, so may our flesh be renewed by rising again, and "the will of God be done as in heaven, so in earth." Again, our mind whereby we see the truth, and delight in this truth, is heaven; as, "I delight in the law of God, after the inward man." What is the earth? "I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind." When this strife shall have passed away, and a full concord be brought about of the flesh and spirit, the will of God will be done as in heaven, so also in earth. When we repeat this petition, let us think of all these things, and ask them all of the Father. Now all these things which we have mentioned, these three petitions, beloved, have respect to the life eternal. For if the name of God is sanctified in us, it will be for eternity. If his kingdom come, where we shall live forever, it will be for eternity. If his will be done as in heaven, so in earth, in all ways which I have explained, it will be for eternity.

There remain now the petitions for this life of our pilgrimage; therefore follows, "Give us this day our daily bread." Give us eternal things, give us things temporal. Thou hast promised a kingdom, deny us not the means of subsistence. Thou wilt give everlasting glory with thyself

hereafter, give us in this earth temporal support. Therefore is it "day by day," and "to-day," that is, in this present time. For when this life shall have passed away, shall we ask for daily bread then? For then it will not be called "day by day," but "to-day." Now it is called "day by day" when one day passes away and another day succeeds. Will it be called "day by day" when there will be one eternal day? This petition for daily bread is doubtless to be understood in two ways, both for the necessary supply of our bodily food and for the necessities of our spiritual support. There is a necessary supply of bodily food, for the preservation of our daily life, without which we cannot live. This is food and clothing, but the whole is understood in a part. When we ask for bread, we thereby understand all things. There is a spiritual food also which the faithful know, which ye too will know when ye shall receive it at the altar of God. This also is "daily bread," necessary only for this life. For shall we receive the Eucharist when we shall have come to Christ himself and begun to reign with him forever? So, then, the Eucharist is our daily bread; but let us in such wise receive it that we be not refreshed in our bodies only, but in our souls. For the virtue which is apprehended there is unity, that, gathered together into his body, and made his members, we may be what we receive. Then will it indeed be our daily bread.

Again, what I am handling before you now is "daily bread;" and the daily lessons which ye hear in church are daily bread, and the hymns ye hear and repeat are daily bread. For all these are necessary in our state of pilgrimage. But when we shall have got to heaven, shall we hear the word, we who shall see the Word himself, and hear the Word himself, and eat and drink him as the angels do now? Do the

angels need books, and interpreters, and readers? Surely not. They read in seeing, for the Truth itself they see and are abundantly satisfied from that fountain from which we obtain some few drops. Therefore has it been said, touching our daily bread, that this petition is necessary for us in this life.

“Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors.” Is this necessary except in this life? For in the other we shall have no debts. For what are debts but sins? See, ye are on the point of being baptized, then all your sins will be blotted out, none whatever will remain. Whatever evil ye have done, in deed, or word, or desire, or thought, all will be blotted out. And yet if, in the life which is after baptism, there were security from sin, we should not learn such a prayer as this, “Forgive us our debts.” Only let us by all means do what comes next, “As we forgive our debtors.”

Do ye, then, who are about to enter in to receive a plenary and entire remission of your debts, do ye, above all things, see that ye have nothing in your hearts against any other, so as to come forth from baptism secure, as it were free and discharged of all debts, and then begin to purpose to avenge yourselves on your enemies who in time past have done you wrong. Forgive, as ye are forgiven. God can do no one wrong, and yet he forgiveth who oweth nothing. How, then, ought he to forgive who is himself forgiven, when he forgiveth all who oweth nothing that can be forgiven him?

“Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.” Will this, again, be necessary in the life to come? “Lead us not into temptation” will not be said except where there can be temptation. We read in the book of holy Job, “Is not the life of man upon earth a temptation?” What, then,

do we pray for? Hear what. The apostle James saith, "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God." He spoke of those evil temptations whereby men are deceived and brought under the yoke of the devil. This is the kind of temptation he spoke of. For there is another sort of temptation which is called a proving; of this kind of temptation it is written, "The Lord your God tempteth (proveth) you to know whether ye love Him." What means "to know?" "To make you know," for he knoweth already. With that kind of temptation whereby we are deceived and seduced, God tempteth no man. But undoubtedly in his deep and hidden judgment he abandons some. And when he hath abandoned them the tempter finds his opportunity. For he finds in him no resistance against his power, but forthwith presents himself to him as his possessor, if God abandon him. Therefore, that he may not abandon us, do we say, "Lead us not into temptation." "For every one is tempted," says the same apostle James, "when he is drawn away of his own lust and enticed. Then lust, when it hath conceived, bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is finished, bringeth forth death."

What, then, has he hereby taught us? To fight against our lusts. For ye are about to put away your sins in holy baptism; but lusts will still remain, wherewith ye must fight after that ye are regenerate. For a conflict with your own selves still remains. Let no enemy from without be feared: conquer thine own self, and the whole world is conquered. What can any tempter from without, whether the devil or the devil's minister, do against thee? Whosoever sets the hope of gain before thee to seduce thee, let him only find no covetousness in thee; and what can he who would tempt thee by gain effect? Whereas, if covetousness be found in

thee, thou takest fire at the sight of gain, and art taken by the bait of this corrupt food. But if he find no covetousness in thee, the trap remains spread in vain.

Or should the tempter set before thee some woman of surpassing beauty; if chastity be within, iniquity from without is overcome. Therefore, that he may not take thee with the bait of a strange woman's beauty, fight with thine own lust within; thou hast no sensible perception of thine enemy, but of thine own concupiscence thou hast. Thou dost not see the devil, but the object that engageth thee thou dost see. Get the mastery, then, over that of which thou art sensible within. Fight valiantly, for he who hath regenerated thee is thy Judge; he hath arranged the lists, he is making ready the crown. But because thou wilt without doubt be conquered if thou have not him to aid thee, if he abandon thee: therefore dost thou say in the prayer, "Lead us not into temptation." The Judge's wrath hath given over some to their own lusts; and the Apostle says, "God gave them over to the lusts of their hearts." How did he give them up? Not by forcing, but by forsaking them.

"Deliver us from evil" may belong to the same sentence. Therefore, that thou mayst understand it to be all one sentence, it runs thus, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." Therefore he added "but," to show that all this belongs to one sentence, "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." How is this? I will propose them singly. "Lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil." By delivering us from evil he leadeth us not into temptation; by not leading us into temptation he delivereth us from evil.

And truly it is a great temptation, dearly beloved, it is

a great temptation in this life, when that in us is the subject of temptation whereby we attain pardon if, in any of our temptations, we have fallen. It is a frightful temptation when that is taken from us whereby we may be healed from the wounds of other temptations. I know that ye have not yet understood me. Give me your attention, that ye may understand. Suppose avarice tempts a man, and he is conquered in any single temptation (for sometimes even a good wrestler and fighter may get roughly handled): avarice, then, has got the better of a man, good wrestler though he be, and he has done some avaricious act. Or there has been a passing lust; it has not brought the man to fornication, nor reached unto adultery — for when this does takes place, the man must at all events be kept back from the criminal act. But he “hath seen a woman to lust after her:” he has let his thoughts dwell on her with more pleasure than was right; he has admitted the attack, excellent combatant though he be, he has been wounded, but he has not consented to it; he has beaten back the motion of his lust, has chastised it with the bitterness of grief, he has beaten it back, and has prevailed. Still, in the very fact that he had slipped has he ground for saying “Forgive us our debts.” And so of all other temptations, it is a hard matter that in them all there should not be occasion for saying, “Forgive us our debts.” What, then, is that frightful temptation which I have mentioned, that grievous, that tremendous temptation, which must be avoided with all our strength, with all our resolution; what is it? When we go about to avenge ourselves. Anger is kindled, and the man burns to be avenged. O frightful temptation! Thou art losing that whereby thou hadst to attain pardon for other faults. If thou hadst committed any sin as to other senses and other lusts, hence

mightst thou have had thy cure in that thou mightst say "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." But whoso instigateth thee to take vengeance will lose for thee the power thou hadst to say "As we also forgive our debtors." When that power is lost, all sins will be retained; nothing at all is remitted.

Our Lord and Master and Saviour, knowing this dangerous temptation in this life when he taught us six or seven petitions in this prayer, took none of them for himself to treat of and to commend to us with greater earnestness than this one. Have we not said, "Our Father which art in heaven" and the rest which follows? Why, after the conclusion of the prayer, did he not enlarge upon it to us, either as to what he had laid down in the beginning, or concluded with at the end, or placed in the middle? For why said he not, If the name of God be not hallowed in you, or if ye have no part in the kingdom of God, or if the will of God be not done in you, as in heaven, or if God guard you not, that ye enter not into temptation; why none of all these? but what saith he? "Verily I say unto you, that if ye forgive men their trespasses," in reference to that petition, "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." Having passed over all the other petitions which he taught us, this he taught us with an especial force. There was no need of insisting so much upon those sins in which, if a man offend, he may know the means whereby he may be cured: need of it there was with regard to that sin in which, if thou sin, there is no means whereby the rest can be cured. For this thou oughtst to be ever saying, "Forgive us our debts." What debts? There is no lack of them; for we are but men; I have talked somewhat more than I ought, have said something I ought not, have laughed more than I ought, have eaten more than I ought, have listened

with pleasure to what I ought not, have drunk more than I ought, have seen with pleasure what I ought not, have thought with pleasure on what I ought not; "Forgive us our debts, as we also forgive our debtors." This if thou hast lost, thou art lost thyself.

Take heed, my brethren, my sons, sons of God, take heed, I beseech you, in that I am saying to you. Fight to the uttermost of your powers with your own hearts. And if ye shall see your anger making a stand against you, pray to God against it, that God may make thee conqueror of thyself, that God may make thee conqueror, I say, not of thine enemy without, but of thine own soul within. For he will give thee his present help and will do it. He would rather that we ask this of him than rain. For ye see, beloved, how many petitions the Lord Christ hath taught us; and there is scarce found among them one which speaks of daily bread, that all our thoughts may be moulded after the life to come. For what can we fear that he will not give us who hath promised and said, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you; for your Father knoweth that ye have need of these things before ye ask him." "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you." For many have been tried even with hunger, and have been found gold, and have not been forsaken by God. They would have perished with hunger if the daily inward bread were to leave their heart. After this let us chiefly hunger. For, "Blessed are they who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled." But he can in mercy look upon our infirmity, and see us, as it is said, "Remember that we are dust." He who from the dust made and quickened man, for that his work of clay's sake, gave his only Son to death. Who can explain, who can worthily so much as conceive, how much he loveth us?

THE VENERABLE BEDE



BEDE or BÆDA, "surnamed "The Venerable," an early English scholar, monk, and ecclesiastical writer, was born near St. Peter's Monastery, Wearmouth, Northumberland, about the year 673, and died at Jarrow, Durham, where his life was chiefly spent, May 26, 735. At the age of ten Bede entered St. Paul's Monastery at Jarrow, where he was ordained priest in his thirtieth year. Here his life was that of a Christian scholar, and he attained great repute as a teacher, numbers coming to the monastery for instruction under him, besides the 600 monks who were attached to the house. He wrote chiefly in Latin, and his learning was for his time and day encyclopædic, for he left behind him not only treatises on theology and on Church matters, but commentaries, homilies, and religious biographies. The work by which he is best known to scholars is his "*Historia Ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*" (*Ecclesiastical History of the English Nation*), a learned and trustworthy record of the Church's annals in early Britain, comprising almost all that we now know of the period (the seventh century and the first half of the eighth). The work was translated into English under the care of King Alfred. At the time of Bede's death he was at work on a translation into the English mother-tongue of St. John's Gospel. Besides this, and a treatise "On the Nature of Things," and the books above referred to, Bede was a master of rhetoric, grammar, music, poetry, philosophy, and medicine, on most of which subjects he wrote learnedly for his time.

SERMON ON THE NATIVITY OF ST. PETER AND ST. PAUL

Matt. xvi, 13-19; Mark viii, 27-29; Luke ix, 18-20.

THE holy gospel which has been read to you, my brethren, is worthy of your utmost attention, and should be kept in constant remembrance. For it commends to us perfect faith and shows the strength of such perfect faith against all temptations. If you would know how one ought to believe in Christ, what can be more clear than this which Peter says to him, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God?" If you would hear of what avail is this belief, what can be more plain than this which the Lord says of the Church

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to be builded upon him, "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it?" These points will be more fully considered hereafter, each in its own place. I will now proceed to the explanation of the whole passage, taking the sentences in their natural order.

And first, of the place in which the Lord's words were spoken. "Jesus came unto the coasts of Cæsarea Philippi." Philip, as Luke informs us, was tetrarch of Iturea and of the region of Trachonitis. He built a city in the district where the Jordan rises, at the foot of Mount Lebanon, a district which bounds Judea toward the north, and he named it Cæsarea Philippi, after his own name, and at the same time in honor of Tiberius Cæsar, under whom he governed the country.

"Jesus asked his disciples, saying, Whom do men say that I, the Son of man, am?" He does not ask as if he knew not what his disciples and others thought of him. He questions the disciples as to their opinion, in order that he may worthily reward their confession of a true faith. For as, when all were questioned, Peter alone answered for all, so what the Lord answered to Peter, in Peter he answered to all. And he asks what others think of him in order that the erroneous opinions of others might be exposed, and so it would be shown that the disciples received the truth of their confession, not from the common belief, but from the very secrets of revelation from the Lord. "Whom do men say that I, the Son of Man, am?" he asks.

Right well does he call them "men" who spoke of him only as Son of man, because they knew not the secrets of his divinity. For they who can receive the mysteries of his divinity are deservedly said to be more than men. The Apostle (Paul) himself beareth witness, "Eye hath not seen, nor ear

heard, nor have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him."

And having premised this of men,—that is, of those whose knowledge is from the human heart, the human ear, the human eye,—the Apostle presently adds, of himself and those like him who surpassed the ordinary knowledge of the human race, "but God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit." In the same way here, when the Lord had questioned the disciples as to whom men held him to be, and they had stated the different views of different persons, he says to them—

"But whom do ye say that I am?" as if setting them apart from ordinary men, and implying that they were made gods and sons of God by adoption, according to that saying of the Psalmist, "I have said, Ye are gods, and ye are all the children of the Most Highest."

"Simon Peter answered and said, Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." He calls him the "living" God by way of distinction from the false gods which heathendom in its various delusions made to itself to worship, either of dead men, or—greater folly still—of insensate matter. Of which false gods it is sung in the psalm, "their idols are silver and gold, the work of men's hands." And mark well, my beloved, for it is worthy of all admiration, how, when the true view of both the natures of the same Lord our Saviour is to be expressed, it is the Lord who sets forth the humility of the manhood he had taken upon him, the disciple who shows the excellency of the divine eternity. The Lord says of himself that which is the less, the disciple says of the Lord that which is the greater. So, too, in the gospel, the Lord was accustomed to speak of himself much more often as son of man than as Son of God, that he might admonish us of the dispensation which he undertook for us. And we ought

the more humbly to reverence the high things of his divinity, the more we remember that for our exaltation he descended to the low estate of manhood. For if, among the mysteries of the Incarnation by which we have been redeemed, we cherish always in pious memory the power of the divinity by which we have been created, we too, with Peter, are rewarded with blessing from on high. For when Peter confesses him to be the Christ, the Son of the living God, see what follows:

“Jesus answered him and said, Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona.” It is certain, then, that after true confession of Christ there remain the true rewards of blessedness. Let us now consider attentively what and how great is that name with which he glorifies the perfect confessor of his name, that by a true confession we may deserve to be partakers of this also. “Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona.” Bar-Jona in Syriac signifies “son of a dove.” And rightly is the apostle Peter called Son of a Dove, for the dove is without guile, and Peter followed his Lord in prudent and pious guilelessness, mindful of that precept of guilelessness and truth which he and his fellow disciples received from the same Master — “Be ye wise as serpents, and harmless as doves.”

And surely, since the Holy Spirit descended upon the Lord in the form of a dove, he is rightly called “Son of a Dove” who is shown to have been filled with the grace of the Spirit. And justly does the Lord reward him who loved him and confessed him, by declaring that he who asserted him to be Son of the living God is son of the Holy Spirit. Of course no faithful man doubts that these two sonships are very different. For the Lord Christ is Son of God by nature: Peter, as also the other elect, son of the Holy Spirit by grace. Christ is Son of the living God because he is born of him: Peter is son of the

Holy Spirit because he is born again of him. Christ is Son of God before all time, for he is that virtue of God and wisdom of God which saith, "The Lord possessed me in the beginning of his way, before his works of old." Peter is son of the Holy Spirit from the time when, illumined by him, he received the grace of divine knowledge. And because the will of the Holy Trinity is one, and the operation one, when the Lord had said, "Blessed art thou, Simon Bar-Jona," that is, Son of the Grace of the Spirit, he rightly proceeded to say —

"For flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee; but my Father which is in Heaven." It was indeed the Father who revealed it: for the grace of the Father and of the Holy Spirit is one, as also that of the Son, which may be proved very easily from sacred Scripture. For the Apostle says of the Father, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." The Son himself says of the Holy Spirit, "But when the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father." The Apostle says of the Holy Spirit, "But all these worketh that one and the selfsame Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will."

The Father therefore sends the Spirit, the Son sends the Spirit: the Spirit himself breatheth where he listeth, because, as we have said, the will and the operation of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one. And hence it is fittingly said that the Father which is in heaven revealed to the Son of the Dove that mystery of faith which flesh and blood could not reveal. Now flesh and blood we rightly understand to mean men puffed up with the wisdom of the flesh, ignorant of the guilelessness of the dove, and thus as far as possible removed from the wisdom of the Spirit. Of whom it has been said above that in their ignorance of Christ some said that he was John the Baptist; some Elias; and others Jeremias, or

one of the prophets. Of such men the Apostle saith: "But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God."

To proceed. "And I say unto thee, That thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church." Peter, who was before named Simon, received from the Lord the name of Peter on account of the strength of his faith and the constancy of his confession; for his mind clung firmly to that of which it is written, "that rock was Christ." "And upon this rock;" that is upon the Lord and Saviour who gave to him that knew him, loved him, confessed him, a share in his own name, so that from the rock he should be called Peter; on which rock the Church is builded, because only by believing and loving Christ, by receiving the sacraments of Christ, by observing the commandments of Christ, can man arrive at the lot of the elect, at eternal life. To this the Apostle beareth witness when he saith, "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

SAVONAROLA

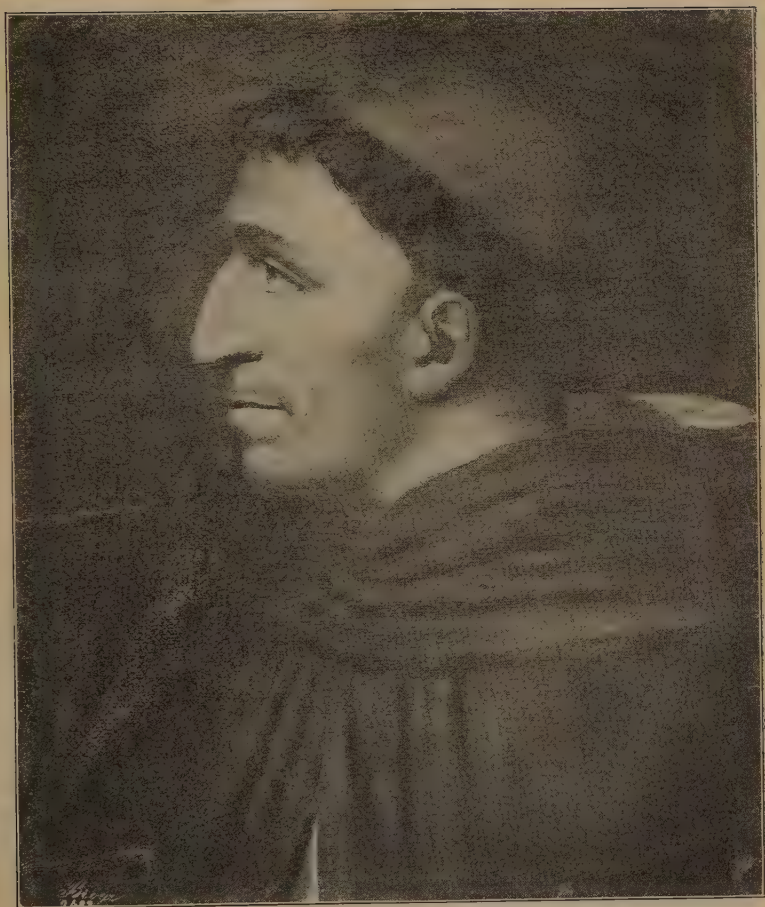


SAVONAROLA, an Italian moral and religious reformer, was born of a noble family at Ferrara, Italy, Sept. 21, 1452. He at first studied for the medical profession, but becoming deeply impressed by the degraded condition of public morals prevalent around him at Ferrara, he resolved to retire to a monastery. In 1475, he entered a Dominican convent at Bologna, and after seven years' sojourn there went to preach at Florence, where Lorenzo de' Medici was then at the height of his power. He was at first unsuccessful, but subsequently at Brescia the gift of eloquence came to him, and in 1490 he was sent to the convent of San Marco at Florence as lector. Teaching first in his cell, then in the cloister, and finally in the cathedral, he was soon eagerly listened to by thousands, who were swayed by his impetuous, fearless preaching. In 1491, he was elected prior of San Marco. He did not aim at doctrinal reform, like Luther, but endeavored to bring about a moral regeneration of the Church and the political regeneration of Italy. He uttered the most scathing rebukes at wrong-doing and spared neither Pope Alexander VI nor Lorenzo de' Medici in his invectives. The Pope vainly strove to silence him with the offer of a cardinal's hat, and at length, in 1495, summoned him to Rome, an order which Savonarola did not obey. Meanwhile, by his influence, the Medici had been expelled, and Florence had for a time given itself over to reform and penitence, and Savonarola's followers, known as Piagoni, were to be seen everywhere. In 1496, the Pope forbade the prior to preach further, under penalty of excommunication, and for a time he submitted, but presently appeared in the pulpit again, and in May of 1497 was formally excommunicated. When the Arrabiati, as his opponents were styled, finally gained the upper hand, the prior and two of the Dominican monks of San Marco, Domenico, and Silvestro, were thrown into the Bargello prison and on May 23, 1498, the three were publicly hanged, then burned at the stake. Savonarola was a man of middle stature, dark complexioned, and pallid and worn from abstinence and an austere life, with an expression at once severe and noble. His best-known work was translated into English in 1868 as "The Triumph of the Cross," and in 1894 as "Sorrow and Hope." See Villari's *Life* (translated by Horner), also Clark's "Life and Times of Savonarola" (1878).

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE OF ST. JOHN

BEHOLD the Lord Jesus! He is not to-day an infant in the manger, but great in majesty in heaven. He has taught; he has done miracles; he has been crucified, and has risen from the dead. He sits at the right hand of the Father; he has sent his Holy Spirit into the world; he has sent the apostles; he has subjugated the nations, and his Vicar

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SAVONAROLA

Famous portrait by Fra Bartolommeo

has accepted the empire of Rome; and behold, now are all things prepared; and he has sent his servants forth, saying, Behold, I have prepared my banquet, my bullock and the fatted animals are killed, and all things are prepared; come to the wedding-feast. Behold, the doors of heaven are opened, and the paths have been trod of old; and the apostles have walked in them, and the confessors, and the holy virgins, and all the fathers. Come, then, to the eternal espousals!

But you, Christian born, and nurtured among Catholics, who have been baptized and nourished with the gospel, fortified with many sacraments, and strengthened in the faith with many sermons; now, when every idolatry is destroyed, when light is now shed over the world, and the dark clouds scattered, that you, in the midst of the influences of the holy Scriptures, surrounded by brightness of the eternal light, how is it, I say, that you do not come to adore Jesus with a great faith, full of fervor?

You have not to come from the east to adore him, yet it is a trouble to you to come to him from a little distance. You cannot leave your riches, you cannot endure the toil of seeking him, you are fearful of danger. But you have not to go to Jerusalem to seek him. Now have we the kingdom of heaven everywhere; but you have grown indolent, and all fatigue is disagreeable to you. You are ashamed to follow the footsteps of Christ, who now reigns in heaven.

You do not esteem it a great matter to serve him,—quite the contrary; and your works show that you are not a Christian. You have already broken your baptismal vows; you have trodden the blood of Christ under foot; you are a rebel to his law; and your promises of allegiance to it serve for nothing.

How have you renounced the devil and his pomps, you,

who every day do his works! you do not attend to the laws of Christ, but to the literature of the Gentiles. Behold the Magi have abandoned paganism and come to Christ; and you, having abandoned Christ, run to paganism. You have left the manna and the bread of angels, and you have sought to satiate your appetite with the food that is fit for swine. Every day avarice augments, and the vortex of usury is enlarged. Luxury has contaminated everything; pride ascends even to the clouds; blasphemies pierce the ears of heaven, and scoffing takes place in the very face of God. You who act thus are of the devil, who is your father, and you seek to do the will of your father. Behold those who are worse than the Jews, and yet to us belong the sacred Scriptures which speak against them. . . . Many are the blind who say our times are more felicitous than the past ages, but I think if the holy Scriptures are true, our lives are not only not like those of our fathers of former times, but they are at variance with them. . . . Cast your eyes on Rome, which is the chief city of the world, and lower your regards to all her members, and lo! from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, no sanity is there.

We are in the midst of Christians, we converse with Christians, but they are not Christians who are so only in name; far better would it be in the midst of pagans. . . . For now men have become lovers of themselves; covetous, haughty, proud, profane, disobedient to father and mother, ungrateful, given to ribaldry, without love, without peace, censorious, incontinent, spiteful, without benignity, treacherous persons, deceivers, puffed up, lovers of voluptuousness more than of God, who have the form of righteousness, but who deny the value of it.

ON THE LOVE OF JESUS CHRIST

CONSIDERING, most beloved in Jesus Christ, the felicity of the saints who have preceded us, and bewailing the sight of the dissipation of every Christian principle, and of men being led away from the old paths of our fathers, behold there appeared before my eyes a beautiful woman, of a venerable and a gracious aspect.

And I said to her, "Who are you, who thus unexpectedly appear before me?" And she answered, "*Ego mater pulchræ dilectionis, timoris, agnitionis, et sanctæ spei.*"¹ Then I took confidence and said, "Tell me, O Madonna (the incarnate wisdom), how comes it to pass that the Christian people no longer can endure the burden of the mild law of Christ, the light and easy yoke of charity and love, as the saints of old did?" "Hear the reason," she replied, "*Quia puer est et non habet vires.*"² The Christian people to-day may be likened to a child who has not strength to bear, without repining, the smallest burden." "Then," said I, "how am I to do, that I may have sufficient force to bear it, and that it may seem light to me?" She answered, "I will teach you: *Pone me ut signaculum super cor tuum, et ut sigillum super brachium tuum.*"³ This will be the great strength of a people."

And when she thus spoke to me I saw suddenly approach me Death, armed with his scythe; and the sight of him caused me great terror. And with daring boldness he said, "I am stronger than that sign you were told to place on your heart

¹ "I am the mother of fair love, of fear, knowledge, and of sacred hope."

² "Because it is a child and has no strength."

³ "Place me as an amulet upon thy heart and as a seal upon thine arm."

and as a seal on your arm, for no human being has ever been able to resist my power or offer any resistance to it. With this scythe I have cut down all on earth who came before me, popes, emperors, and kings, and no one has overcome me, so be on your guard that you have not been deluded with mere words."

I felt somewhat astounded, amazed as it were, at these words; but the lady — she the mother of fair love — said to me, "*Fortis est ut mors dilectio*,"⁴ and instantly Death departed.

No sooner were the words spoken than Satan, in form and stature of stupendous and appalling size and aspect, stood before me and said, "I am the strongest of all powers; for of me it is written, *Non est potestas in terra quæ ei comparetur*."⁵ So suffer not yourself to be deceived by others. I have caused many saints to fall, and, among the rest, your first father Adam, who was more perfect and of greater virtue than all the others."

Speedily that lady, most worthy of veneration, encouragingly said to me, "Fear him not, *nam dura sicut infernus æmulatio*."⁶

Then came a third apparition, a body of fire like unto a great furnace, and it appeared as if it was there to burn me. And I heard a great voice issue out of that furnace and fire, amid the flames, saying, "*Ego fortissima consumens omnia*."⁷ I have burned cities and castles in great numbers; I have consumed multitudes of men; if you only knew about these things you would be less confident in the power of this protectress."

⁴ "Love is as strong as death."

⁵ "There is no power on earth to compare with her."

⁶ "For emulation is as fierce as hell."

⁷ "I am most potent, and I consume all things."

I stood wrapped in wonder, and I said, "What does all this mean?" Then did the lady take me by the arm and by the hand, and, smiling, turning toward the body of fire, she said, "*Lampades ejus ut lampades ignis atque flammarum.*"^s These words having been spoken, I perceived a great stir and a sound of rushing waters, as of a vast impetuous river when the streams come down in rapid torrents from the mountains, and I heard a voice from the midst of the waters, which said to me, "We have overwhelmed cities and brought down mountains, and we have no dread of armies, and therefore you are deceived if you think that a woman's aid can serve to liberate you from our hands."

"Oh, mother and queen!" I exclaimed, "answer for me;" and instantly, before she could respond, I heard a loud tumultuous noise and great booming sounds, such as those which we hear when the sea is lashed by tempests; and there came forth a most terrible voice, and spoke thus to me: "I am the sea, which has swallowed up numberless ships and submerged innumerable people, and once overspread even the wide world, and no one can stand against the power of the devil; and yet you confide in the vain words of a woman." Then encouragingly did this lady speak to me, and, directing her words against the sea and against the rivers, she said, "*Aquæ multæ non potuerunt extinguere charitatem, neque flumina obruent illam.*"^a At these words I was much reassured.

And then, behold, the world appeared before me with all the precious and desirable things, and all the pleasures that could be imagined here below. In one place there seemed

^s "His torches are like torches of fire and flames."

^a "Many waters have not been able to extinguish love, nor can rivers drown it."

to me songs and most sweet sounds of music; in another, children exquisitely beautiful; elsewhere, tables most sumptuously laid out with a variety of viands and wines; here, apartments magnificently adorned; there were seen royal sceptres, imperial crowns, and papal mitres. At the sight of these things I felt myself somewhat encouraged and drawn forcibly toward them, and chiefly when I heard a voice uttering these words, "*Hæc omnia tibi dabo si cadens adoraveris me,*"¹⁰ and another, which said, "*Omnia traho ad me ipsum.*"¹¹

This lady — the mother of fair love — fearing that I might yield to the temptations of such delights, said to me, "Be resolute, I have better things to offer you; *nam si dedet homo omnem substantiam domus suæ per dilectionem quasi nihil despiciet eam.*"¹²

Thus it is, my brethren, this love and this charity (which I have to propose to you) are great gifts, and far more precious than all earthly and material goods, and nothing can prevail against them, as you shall see. For the due understanding of this parable it must be borne in mind that it is in the intellectual part, as our experience shows that such impressions are made, when one understands anything, and it occasions in the intellect of the person a certain impression of the similitude of the thing understood, and, in a like manner, in the imagination remains the similitude of the thing imagined.

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In the love, then, of Jesus Christ is that impression or similitude which has been referred to, and not only in the intellect,

¹⁰ "I will give thee all these things if thou wilt fall down and worship me."

¹¹ "I draw all things unto me."

¹² "For if a man give all the substance of his house regarding it as of no value."

but in the will or desire, which, if it be naturally affected, produces much sensible emotion, but if supernaturally by grace, oh, then the soul is effectually moved by it!

For the supernatural light which impresses Christ in the understanding vehemently draws to it the will or desire, for it shows the Saviour to the understanding by some medium of ineffable suavity which the natural light cannot present it in to the intellect. And the more the desire is thus acted on, the more it is animated by this supernatural charity.

ON THE DEGENERATION OF THE CHURCH

NOW there is one thing only in which great delight is taken in the temple of religion. The great anxiety is that it should be all painted and gilded; thus, our churches have exterior things, many fine ceremonies in the solemnization of ecclesiastical offices, with magnificent adornments for the altars and hangings for the walls, candelabra of gold and silver, so many costly chalices and ciboriums. You behold there those great prelates with fine mitres, adorned with gold and precious gems, on their heads, with crosiers of silver. You behold them with brocaded vestments at the altar, singing our beautiful vespers and our high masses, *adagio*, with so many imposing ceremonies, organs, and numerous singers, that your senses are astounded; and they seem to you men of great gravity and sanctimony, and you do not believe they can err, but that which they say and do is to be observed as the precepts of the gospel; behold, to what a pass the modern church is come! Men nurture themselves on these trivialities and recreate

themselves with these ceremonies, and they say the church of Jesus Christ never flourished so much, and that divine worship was never so well performed as at the present time; as a great prelate once said that the church was never held in such honor, nor were their prelates ever in such estimation, and the first prelates of the church were only *prelatuzzi*¹³ in comparison with the bishops of our days.

But Asaph of the Psalms, how does he feel at hearing these words? He whispers in my ear and says, "It is true the first prelates were only *prelatuzzi*, because they were humble and poor, and they had not so many fat bishoprics and so many rich glebe possessions as our modern bishops. They had not so many mitres of gold, moreover, nor so many chalices, and even the few which they possessed they disposed of for the necessities of the poor. Our prelates, to possess chalices, take the substance of the poor, without which they cannot live."

But do you comprehend what I wish to say to you?

In the primitive church the chalices were of wood and the prelates were of gold; to-day the prelates are of wood and the chalices are of gold.

It was said once to St. Thomas of Aquinas by a great prelate, and perhaps it might be said of all who entertain similar opinions, that he exhibited a large vessel, and perhaps more than one, full of ducats, and said, "Master Thomas, look here, the church can no longer say, as St. Peter said, '*Argentum et aurum non est mihi.*'"¹⁴ St. Thomas, in reply, said "Neither can the church say now that which follows immediately, and was said by the Apostle, '*In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Nazareni surge et ambula.*'"¹⁵

They who did these things were then only *prelatuzzi*, as

¹³ "Insignificant priests."

¹⁴ "Silver and gold have I none."

¹⁵ "In the name of our Lord Jesus Christ of Nazareth, arise and walk."

far as temporalities go, but they were great prelates, that is to say, of great virtue and sanctity, great authority; they were greatly revered by the people; whether on account of their virtues or of the miracles they performed. . . .

If you go to those *prelati cerimoniosi* of later times, they give you the best mild words you ever heard; if you condole with them on the present state of the church, that it is bad, speedily they say, "Father, you speak the truth, it will be impossible any longer to live if God does not repair the evil the faith is suffering." But internally they are full of malice, and they speak another language, and they say, "Let us remain at rest, all days are feasts of the Lord on earth:" as if they wished to say, "Let us make the feasts and solemnities of God festivals and functions of the devil; let us introduce them," they say, "with our authority, with an example, so that the true feasts and solemnities of God shall cease, and the festivals of Satan shall be honored." And they say one to another, "What think you of this our faith? what opinion have you of it?" Another replies, "You appear to me a fool. That which has been said of calamities in the church is a dream, a thing spoken of by women and of friars, *e uno sogno, e cosa da femminucce, e da frati*. . . . '*Che fai tu adunque, Signore? perche dormi tu? Quare abdormis, Domine? exurge, et ne repellas in finem.*' . . . Lord, do you not see our tribulations? Have you become unmindful of your church? Do you love it no more? Is it no longer dear to you? It is still your spouse! Do you not recognize it? It is the same for which you came down from heaven and took up your abode in the womb of Mary, for which you took human flesh, for which you suffered all manner of opprobrium, for which you were pleased to shed your blood on the cross. Therefore, since it has cost you so much, O Lord, we beseech of you that you come speedily to liberate it."

LATIMER



UGH LATIMER, bishop of Worcester, and one of the Oxford martyrs of the English Reformation period, was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, about 1480, and was burned at the stake at Oxford, Oct. 16, 1555, during the Marian persecutions. His father was of the yeoman class, and the circumstances of Latimer's early life probably gave him that knowledge of the struggles of the peasantry of which he spoke so earnestly in his sermons on "The Plough" before King Edward VI. He was educated at Padua and at Cambridge University, and early turned towards the reformed doctrines. He became bishop of Worcester in 1534, having already been accused of heresy, and was as outspoken in his position as when he held a living in Wiltshire. He resigned his office in 1539, having come into conflict with the views and opinions of Henry VIII, and was for a short time imprisoned in the Tower. After the accession of Edward VI he came again into notice as a licensed preacher, living quietly in London, preaching vigorous sermons at St. Paul's Cross, and exercising much influence upon public opinion by the earnestness and vigor of his utterances. Soon after Queen Mary came to the throne he was committed to prison on the charge of heresy, and after a confinement of over two years was burned at the stake at Oxford, Oct. 16, 1555, in company with Ridley, bishop of London. He was perhaps the greatest English preacher of his day, but his sermons are not literary productions so much as utterances adapted to the needs of the time. The style in which they are written, though homely and unpolished, possesses much vigor, directness, and simplicity of thought. They are, moreover, not without gleams of humor, which at times contrast finely with the earnestness and effectiveness of their appeals to the hearts and consciences of readers.

SERMON ON CHRISTIAN LOVE

"This is my commandment, that ye love one another, as I have loved you."

—John xv, 12.

SEEING the time is so far spent, we will take no more in hand at this time than this one sentence; for it will be enough for us to consider this well and to bear it away with us. "This I command unto you, that ye love one another." Our Saviour himself spake these words at his last supper: it was the last sermon that he made unto his disciples before his departure; it is a very long sermon. For our

Saviour, like as one that knows he shall die shortly, is desirous to spend that little time he has with his friends, in exhorting and instructing them how they should lead their lives. Now, among other things that he commanded this was one: "This I command unto you, that ye love one another." The English expresses as though it were but one, "This is my commandment." I examined the Greek, where it is in the plural number, and very well; for there are many things that pertain to a Christian man, and yet all those things are contained in this one thing, that is, Love. He lappeth up all things in love.

Our whole duty is contained in these words, "Love together." Therefore St. Paul saith, "He that loveth another fulfilleth the whole law;" so it appeareth that all things are contained in this word Love. This Love is a precious thing; our Saviour saith, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye shall love one another."

So Christ makes love his cognizance, his badge, his livery. Like as every lord commonly gives a certain livery to his servants, whereby they may be known that they pertain unto him; and so we say, yonder is this lord's servants, because they wear his livery: so our Saviour, who is the Lord above all lords, would have his servants known by their liveries and badge, which badge is love alone. Whosoever now is endued with love and charity is his servant; him we may call Christ's servant; for love is the token whereby you may know that such a servant pertaineth to Christ; so that charity may be called the very livery of Christ. He that hath charity is Christ's servant: he that hath not charity is the servant of the devil. For as Christ's livery is love and charity, so the devil's livery is hatred, malice, and discord.

¶ But I think the devil has a great many more servants

than Christ has; for there are a great many more in his livery than in Christ's livery; there are but very few who are endued with Christ's livery; with love and charity, gentleness and meekness of spirit; but there are a great number that bear hatred and malice in their hearts, that are proud, stout, and lofty; therefore the number of the devil's servants is greater than the number of Christ's servants.

Now St. Paul shows how needful this love is. I speak not of carnal love, which is only animal affection; but of this charitable love which is so necessary that, when a man hath it, without all other things it will suffice him. Again, if a man have all other things and lacketh that love, it will not help him; it is all vain and lost. St. Paul used it so: "Though I speak with tongues of men and angels, and yet had no love, I were even as sounding brass or as a tinkling cymbal. And though I could prophesy and understand all secrets and all knowledge; yea, if I had all faith, so that I could move mountains out of their places, and yet had no love, I were nothing. And though I bestowed all my goods to feed the poor, and though I gave my body even that I were burned, and yet had no love, it profiteth me nothing."

These are godly gifts, yet St. Paul calls them nothing when a man hath them without charity; which is a great commendation, and shows the great need of love, insomuch that all other virtues are in vain when this love is absent. And there have been some who thought that St. Paul spake against the dignity of faith; but you must understand that St. Paul speaks here, not of the justifying faith wherewith we receive everlasting life, but he understands by this word "faith" the gift to do miracles, to remove hills: of such a faith he speaks. This I say to confirm this proposition. Faith only justifieth: this proposition is most true and certain. And St. Paul speaks not

here of this lively justifying faith; for this right faith is not without love, for love cometh and floweth out of faith, love is a child of faith; for no man can love except he believe, so that they have two several offices, they themselves being inseparable.

St. Paul has an expression in the thirteenth chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which, according to the outward letter, seems much to the dispraise of this faith, and to the praise of love; these are his words: "Now abideth faith, hope, and love, even these three; but the chiefest of these is love."

There are some learned men who expound the greatness of which St. Paul speaketh here as if meant for eternity. For when we come to God, then we believe no more, but rather see with our eyes face to face how he is; yet for all that, love remains still; so that love may be called the chiefest because she endureth forever. And though she is the chiefest, yet we must not attribute unto her the office which pertains unto faith only. Like as I cannot say, the mayor of Stamford must make me a pair of shoes because he is a greater man than the shoemaker is; for the mayor, though he is the greater man, yet it is not his office to make shoes; so, though love be greater, yet it is not her office to save. Thus much I thought good to say against those who fight against the truth.

Now, when we would know who are in Christ's livery or not, we must learn it of St. Paul, who most evidently described charity, which is the very livery, saying, "Love is patient, she suffereth long." Now whosoever fumeth and is angry, he is out of this livery: therefore let us remember that we do not cast away the livery of Christ our master. When we are in sickness or any manner of adversities, our duty is to be patient, to suffer willingly, and to call upon him for aid, help

and comfort; for without him we are not able to abide any tribulation. Therefore we must call upon God, he has promised to help: therefore let me not think him to be false or untrue in his promises, for we cannot dishonor God more than by not believing or trusting in him. Therefore let us beware above all things of dishonoring God; and so we must be patient, trusting and most certainly believing that he will deliver us when it seems good to him, who knows the time better than we ourselves.

“Charity is gentle, friendly, and loving; she envieth not.” They that envy their neighbor’s profit when it goes well with him, such fellows are out of their liveries, and so out of the service of God; for to be envious is to be the servant of the devil.

“Love doth not frowardly, she is not a provoker;” as there are some men who will provoke their neighbor so far that it is very hard for them to be in charity with them; but we must wrestle with our affections; we must strive and see that we keep this livery of Christ our master; for “the devil goeth about as a roaring lion seeking to take us at a vantage,” to bring us out of our liveries, and to take from us the knot of love and charity.

“Love swelleth not, is not puffed up;” but there are many swellers nowadays, they are so high, so lofty, insomuch that they despise and condemn all others: all such persons are under the governance of the devil. God rules not them with his good Spirit; the evil spirit has occupied their hearts and possessed them.

“She doth not dishonestly; she seeketh not her own; she doth all things to the commodity of her neighbors.” A charitable man will not promote himself with the damage of his neighbor. They that seek only their own advantage, forgetting

their neighbors, they are not of God, they have not his livery. Further, "charity is not provoked to anger; she thinketh not evil." We ought not to think evil of our neighbor as long as we see not open wickedness; for it is written, "You shall not judge;" we should not take upon us to condemn our neighbor. And surely the condemners of other men's works are not in the livery of Christ. Christ hateth them.

"She rejoiceth not in iniquity;" she loveth equity and godliness. And again, she is sorry to hear of falsehood, of stealing, or such like, which wickedness is now at this time commonly used. There never was such falsehood among Christian men as there is now at this time; truly I think, and they that have experience report it so, that among the very infidels and Turks there is more fidelity and uprightness than among Christian men. For no man setteth anything by his promise, yea, and writings will not serve with some, they are so shameless that they dare deny their own handwriting: but, I pray you, are those false fellows in the livery of Christ? Have they his cognizance? No, no; they have the badge of the devil, with whom they shall be damned world without end except they amend and leave their wickedness.

"She suffereth all things; she believeth all things." It is a great matter that should make us to be grieved with our neighbor; we should be patient when our neighbor doth wrong, we should admonish him of his folly, earnestly desiring him to leave his wickedness, showing the danger that follows, namely, everlasting damnation. In such wise we should study to amend our neighbor, and not to hate him or do him a foul turn again, but rather charitably study to amend him: whosoever now does so, he has the livery and cognizance of Christ; he shall be known at the last day for his servant.

“Love believeth all things.” It appears daily that they who are charitable and friendly are most deceived; because they think well of every man, they believe every man, they trust their words, and therefore are most deceived in this world, among the children of the devil. These and such like things are the tokens of the right and godly love: therefore they that have this love are soon known, for this love cannot be hid in corners, she has her operation: therefore all that have her are well enough, though they have no other gifts besides her. Again, they that lack her, though they have many other gifts besides, yet it is to no other purpose, it does them no good: for when we shall come at the great day before him, not having this livery (that is, love) with us, then we are lost; he will not take us for his servants, because we have not his cognizance. But if we have this livery; if we wear his cognizance here in this world; that is, if we love our neighbor, help him in his distress, are charitable, loving, and friendly unto him,—then shall we be known at the last day: but if we be uncharitable toward our neighbor, hate him, seek our own advantage with his damage, then we shall be rejected of Christ and so damned world without end.

Our Saviour saith here in this gospel, “I command you these things:” he speaketh in the plural number, and lappeth it up in one thing, which is, that we should love one another, much like St. Paul’s saying in the thirteenth to the Romans, “Owe nothing to any man, but love one another.” Here St. Paul lappeth up all things together, signifying unto us that love is the consummation of the law; for this commandment, “Thou shalt not commit adultery,” is contained in this law of love: for he that loveth God will not break wedlock, because wedlock-breaking is a dishonoring of God and a serving of the devil. “Thou shalt not kill.” He that

loveth will not kill, he will do no harm. "Thou shalt not steal." He that loveth his neighbor as himself will not take away his goods. I had of late occasion to speak of pick-ing and stealing, where I showed unto you the danger wherein they are that steal their neighbors' goods from them, but I hear nothing yet of restitution. Sirs, I tell you, except restitu-tion is made, look for no salvation.

And it is a miserable and heinous thing to consider that we are so blinded with this world that, rather than we would make restitution, we will sell unto the devil our souls which are bought with the blood of our Saviour Christ. What can be done more to the dishonoring of Christ than to cast our souls away to the devil for the value of a little money? — the soul which he has bought with his painful passion and death! But I tell you those that will do so, and that will not make restitution when they have done wrong, or have taken away their neighbor's goods, they are not in the livery of Christ, they are not his servants; let them go as they will in this world, yet for all that they are foul and filthy enough before God; they stink before his face; and therefore they shall be cast from his presence into everlasting fire; this shall be all their good cheer that they shall have, because they have not the livery of Christ, nor his cognizance, which is love. They remember not that Christ commanded us, saying, "This I command you, that ye love one another." This is Christ's commandment. Moses, the great prophet of God, gave many laws, but he gave not the spirit to fulfil the same laws: but Christ gave this law, and promised unto us that when we call upon him he will give us his Holy Ghost, who shall make us able to fulfil his laws, though not so perfectly as the law requires, but yet to the contentation of God and to the protection of our faith: for as long as

we are in this world we can do nothing as we ought to do, because our flesh leadeth us, which is ever bent against the law of God; yet our works which we do are well taken for Christ's sake, and God will reward them in heaven.

Therefore our Saviour saith, "My yoke is easy, and my burden is light," because he helpeth to bear them; else indeed we should not be able to bear them. And in another place he saith his commandments are not heavy; they are heavy to our flesh, but, being qualified with the Spirit of God, to the faithful which believe in Christ, to them, I say, they are not heavy; for, though their doings are not perfect, yet they are well taken for Christ's sake.

You must not be offended because the Scripture commends love so highly, for he that commends the daughter commends the mother; for love is the daughter and faith is the mother: love floweth out of faith; where faith is, there is love; but yet we must consider their offices; faith is the hand wherewith we take hold on everlasting life.

Now let us enter into ourselves and examine our own hearts whether we are in the livery of God or not: and when we find ourselves to be out of this livery let us repent and amend our lives, so that we may come again to the favor of God and spend our time in this world to his honor and glory, forgiving our neighbors all such things as they have done against us.

And now to make an end: mark here who gave this precept of love — Christ our Saviour himself. When and at what time? At his departing, when he should suffer death. Therefore these words ought the more to be regarded, seeing he himself spake them at his last departing from us. May God of his mercy give us grace so to walk here in this world, charitably and friendly with one another, that we may attain the joy which God hath prepared for all those that love him. Amen.

LUTHER



MARTIN LUTHER, the great Protestant Reformer, was born at Eisleben, in Prussian Saxony, Nov. 10, 1483. His father, who was a miner and slate-cutter by trade, had come to Eisleben to seek work, and, subsequently, set up a forge in Mansfeld. In the Latin school of that place young Martin so distinguished himself that his father sent him for a year to a school at Magdeburg, and then to Eisenach, whence in his eighteenth year he went to the high school of Erfurt, where he studied theology and philosophy. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1502, and his Master's, three years later. A dangerous illness so wrought upon his feelings that, contrary to his father's wishes, he resolved to become a monk, and, in July, 1505, he entered the Augustinian monastery at Erfurt. Ordained a priest in July, 1507, he was appointed in the following year to the Chair of Philosophy in the University at Wittenberg, adding to his labors, preaching and biblical exegesis. He began by lecturing on Aristotle, and in 1509 he gave lectures on the Bible, which from the first attracted crowds of hearers. In the year 1511, he went to Rome, and a twelvemonth later, on his return to the University, he received the degree of Doctor of Divinity. As early as 1516, he began to defend at academical disputations his peculiar views of the relations between law and gospel. In the following year, when the sale of indulgences began in Saxony, Luther thundered against them from his Wittenberg pulpit, and finally, on October 3, nailed a paper, denouncing them in a thesis, containing ninety-five propositions, to the door of the Palace church. In that hour the Reformation began. In his theses and explanatory sermons, Luther struck a blow at more than indulgences, though he scarcely knew it at the time. Early in 1518, he appeared at a general meeting of the Augustinian order at Heidelberg, and, at a public disputation, strove to make apparent the contrast between the external view of religion taught by the schoolmen, and the spiritual view of gospel truth based upon justifying faith. The result of these and similar declarations was that Luther was summoned to appear before the Pope at Rome, but, the Elector of Saxony intervening, it was arranged that Luther should present himself before the Pope's legate at Augsburg. The interview came to little, save to widen the breach between Rome and the Reformed opinions so zealously preached by Luther. In 1519, Luther appealed from the Pope to a General Council to be held in Germany. During the same year a public disputation took place at Leipsic between Luther and John Eck, after which Luther felt that he had finally broken with Rome, and became the leader of the German nation in its revolt from the jurisdiction and subjection of Rome. The Pope's bull, published at Rome in September,

1520, the bull in which Luther was condemned for holding Hussite opinions, was publicly burned by the reformer at Wittenberg in December of the same year, along with the books of Canon Law. The Pope now appealed to the young emperor Charles V to crush heresy in Germany, and Luther was summoned before a Diet to be held at Worms in 1521. It was before this Diet that Luther delivered the speech which is here reproduced. On the remaining fifteen years of Luther's life we need not dwell. When he died, in 1546, it was with the knowledge that he had made a large part of Germany Protestant; indeed, the only large German States that were then able to maintain a firm front against the Lutheran doctrines were Austria, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and the great ecclesiastical provinces on the Rhine. Subsequently, the Palatinate adopted the Calvinistic form of Protestantism, and the Reformed religion had a further and signal triumph, due almost wholly to Luther and to the force, fire, and independence of a grand and epoch-making man.

TO THE DIET AT WORMS

IN OBEDIENCE to your commands given me yesterday, I stand here, beseeching you, God is merciful, so to deign mercifully to listen to this cause, which is, as I believe, the cause of justice and of truth. And if through inexperience I should fail to apply to any his proper title, or offend in any way against the manners of courts, I entreat you to pardon me as one not conversant with courts, but rather with the cells of monks, and claiming no other merit than that of having spoken and written with that simplicity of mind which regards nothing but the glory of God and the pure instruction of the people of Christ.

Two questions have been proposed to me: Whether I acknowledge the books which are published in my name, and whether I am determined to defend or disposed to recall them. To the first of these I have given a direct answer, in which I shall ever persist that those books are mine and published by me, except so far as they may have been altered or interpolated by the craft or officiousness of rivals. To the other I am now about to reply; and I must

first entreat your Majesty and your Highnesses to deign to consider that my books are not all of the same description. For there are some in which I have treated the piety of faith and morals with simplicity so evangelical that my very adversaries confess them to be profitable and harmless and deserving the perusal of a Christian. Even the Pope's bull, fierce and cruel as it is, admits some of my books to be innocent, though even these, with a monstrous perversity of judgment, it includes in the same sentence. If, then, I should think of retracting these, should I not stand alone in my condemnation of that truth which is acknowledged by the unanimous confession of all, whether friends or foes?

The second species of my publications is that in which I have inveighed against the papacy and the doctrine of the papists, as of men who by their iniquitous tenets and examples have desolated the Christian world, both with spiritual and temporal calamities. No man can deny or dissemble this. The sufferings and complaints of all mankind are my witnesses, that, through the laws of the Pope and the doctrines of men, the consciences of the faithful have been ensnared, tortured, and torn in pieces, while, at the same time, their property and substance have been devoured by an incredible tyranny, and are still devoured without end and by degrading means, and that too, most of all, in this noble nation of Germany. Yet it is with them a perpetual statute, that the laws and doctrines of the Pope be held erroneous and reprobate when they are contrary to the Gospel and the opinions of the Fathers.

If, then, I shall retract these books, I shall do no other than add strength to tyranny and throw open doors to this

great impiety, which will then stride forth more widely and licentiously than it has dared hitherto; so that the reign of iniquity will proceed with entire impunity, and, notwithstanding its intolerable oppression upon the suffering vulgar, be still further fortified and established; especially when it shall be proclaimed that I have been driven to this act by the authority of your serene Majesty and the whole Roman Empire. What a cloak, blessed Lord, should I then become for wickedness and despotism!

In a third description of my writings are those which I have published against individuals, against the defenders of the Roman tyranny and the subverters of the piety taught by men. Against these I do freely confess that I have written with more bitterness than was becoming either my religion or my profession; for, indeed, I lay no claim to any especial sanctity, and argue not respecting my own life, but respecting the doctrine of Christ. Yet even these writings it is impossible for me to retract, seeing that through such retraction despotism and impiety would reign under my patronage, and rage with more than their former ferocity against the people of God.

Yet since I am but man and not God, it would not become me to go further in defence of my tracts than my Lord Jesus went in defence of his doctrine; who, when he was interrogated before Annas, and received a blow from one of the officers, answered: "If I have spoken evil, bear witness of the evil; but if well, why smitest thou me?" If then the Lord himself, who knew his own infallibility, did not disdain to require arguments against his doctrine even from a person of low condition, how much rather ought I, who am the dregs of the earth and the very slave of error, to inquire and search if there be any

to bear witness against my doctrine! Wherefore, I entreat you, by the mercies of God, that if there be any one of any condition who has that ability, let him overpower me by the sacred writings, prophetic and evangelical. And for my own part, as soon as I shall be better instructed I will retract my errors and be the first to cast my books into the flames.

It must now, I think, be manifest that I have sufficiently examined and weighed, not only the dangers, but the parties and dissensions excited in the world by means of my doctrine, of which I was yesterday so gravely admonished. But I must avow that to me it is of all others the most delightful spectacle to see parties and dissensions growing up on account of the word of God, for such is the progress of God's word, such its ends and object. "Think not I am come to send peace on earth; I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father, and the daughter against her mother, and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law; and a man's foes shall be those of his own household."

Moreover we should reflect that our God is wonderful and terrible in his counsels; so that his work, which is now the object of so much solicitude, if we should found it in the condemnation of the word of God, may be turned by his providence into a deluge of intolerable calamity; and the reign of this young and excellent prince (in whom is our hope after God) not only should begin, but should continue and close under the most glowing auspices.

I could show more abundantly by reference to Scriptural examples—to those of Pharaoh, the King of Babylon, the

kings of Israel—that they have brought about their own destruction by those very counsels of worldly wisdom which seemed to promise them peace and stability. For it is he who taketh the wise in their craftiness and removeth the mountains, and they know not, and overturneth them in his anger. So that it is the work of God to fear God. Yet I say not these things as if the great personages here present stood at all in need of my admonitions, but only because it was a service which I owed to my native Germany, and it was my duty to discharge it. And thus I commend myself to your serene Majesty and all the princes, humbly beseeching you not to allow the malice of my enemies to render me odious to you without a cause. I have done.

["Having delivered this address in German," says Doctor Waddington, "Luther was commanded to recite it in Latin. For a moment he hesitated; his breath was exhausted, and he was oppressed by the heat and throng of the surrounding multitude. One of the Saxon courtiers even advised him to excuse himself from obedience; but he presently collected his powers again, and repeated his speech with few variations and equal animation in the other language. His tone was that of supplication rather than remonstrance, and there was something of diffidence in his manner. . . . No sooner had he ceased than he was reminded, in a tone of reproach, that they were not assembled to discuss matters which had long ago been decided by councils, but that a simple answer was required of him to a simple question—whether he would retract or not. Then Luther continued—"]

Since your most serene Majesty and the princes require a simple answer, I will give it thus; Unless I shall be con-

vinced by proofs from Scripture or by evident reason — for I believe neither in Popes nor councils, since they have frequently both erred and contradicted themselves — I cannot choose but adhere to the word of God, which has possession of my conscience; nor can I possibly, nor will I ever make any recantation, since it is neither safe nor honest to act contrary to conscience! Here I stand; I cannot do otherwise; so help me God! Amen.

[Translated by Dr. George Waddington.]

ZWINGLI



HEINRICH ZWINGLI, Swiss theologian and religious reformer, was born at Wildhaus, in the canton of St. Gall, Switzerland, Jan. 1, 1484. He was educated at the schools of Vienna and Bâle, entered the priesthood, and in 1506 became pastor at Glarus. His religious views undergoing modification, he left Glarus in 1516 for Einsiedeln, where he became known as a religious reformer and won the praise of Erasmus. In December, 1518, he went to Zurich, where he devoted himself to pastoral work with apostolic zeal. After Luther had been proclaimed a heretic, Zwingli was sometimes called his imitator, an assertion which Zwingli denied, averring that when he began to preach the reformed gospel in 1516 no one in Switzerland had heard of Luther. As the Swiss Reformation progressed, Zwingli's position as the head of it drew general attention towards him, and various overtures were made by the Roman Church to induce him to abandon his leadership, but without avail. In 1525, he held a public disputation with the Anabaptists, who, nevertheless, remained unconvinced by him, and the next year broke forth in riot. The Zwinglian reformers, however, were successful in defeating them. A controversy regarding the Eucharist occurred at this time between Luther and Melancthon, in which Zwingli took part, and the breach between the two reformers was never healed. In 1529, a war broke out between the Protestant and Roman Catholic cantons of Switzerland, in which Zwingli sought to interpose as mediator, and for the time was successful. A second conflict ensued in 1531, and in a battle, near Kappel, Zwingli, who had been commanded by the Great Council to carry to the field the banner of the Republic, that had ever been borne in battle by a priest, was killed on Oct. 11, 1531. The reformer's last words on the battlefield just before he died were: "They may kill the body, but not the soul." His works, which are written in Latin, include, among others, a treatise "Of True and False Religion" (1525); "The Grounds of Faith" (1538); and "A Short and Clear Exposition of Christian Faith" (1538).

DISCOURSE ON THE EVILS OF FOREIGN MILITARY SERVICE

[At the period of Zwingli's entrance into public life his country was groaning under the troubles and disorders introduced by mercenary warfare and its consequences. He lifted up his voice energetically against this crying evil.]

OUR fathers conquered their enemies and won their freedom, relying on no other arm but the arm of the Almighty, and they were ready at all times to recognize his intervention in their behalf, in gratitude and praise, as the children of Israel did, who, after the redemption out

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of the hand of Pharaoh, and their passage of the Red Sea, sang praises to Jehovah. "I will sing unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously: the horse and his rider hath he thrown into the sea. The Lord is my strength and song, and he is become my salvation." Our ancestors took no wages to slay their fellow Christians, but they fought alone for their independence, and the freedom of themselves, their wives, and children, from the yoke of a haughty and wanton aristocracy. Therefore God gave the victory into their hands, increased them in honor and wealth, so that there was no master that could subdue them, however strong he might be. Such glorious results, however, were accomplished by no human agency, but alone through the power and grace of God. Now, however, we have begun to please ourselves, and to esteem ourselves wise in that which is God's, as, indeed, man often does. Now, when they have got loaded with this world's riches and glory, they rebel against God and become arrogant. "But Jeshurun waxed fat and kicked" (Deut. xxxii, 15). "Lo, this is the man that made not God his strength; but trusted in the abundance of his riches, and strengthened himself in his wickedness" (Ps. lii, 7). Think ye not that loss and shame will be our portion from the Lord if we thus magnify our own name, saying, "We have done this! We shall do that! No man may withstand us!" As if we had "made a covenant with death, and with hell were at an agreement," as Isaiah says (chap. xxviii), and as if no man could harm us. Thus some amongst us, being led away to forget themselves, and God himself, by the force of evil passions, the devil, the great enemy of all the good, like the serpent at the creation, has stirred up foreign lords, who have spoken thus to us: "Ye strong heroes ought not to remain in your land and in your mountains. What will you with this bleak

land? Serve us for gold, ye will thus gain a great name and much wealth, and your valor will be known to men and be feared." In a similar strain spake the devil to Eve by the serpent.

Against all such promises Solomon warns us, saying, "An hypocrite with his mouth destroyeth his neighbor" (Prov. xi, 9). In this manner they (the foreign lords) have so wheedled and enticed us, simple Confederates, seeking their own profit, that at length they have brought us into such danger and disagreement between ourselves that we, not regarding our fatherland, have more care how to maintain them in their wealth and power than to defend our own houses, wives, and children. And this were less, had we not shame and damage out of this pact. We have at Naples, at Nivarre, and Milan, suffered greater loss in the service of these masters than since we have been a Confederacy; in our own wars we have been ever conquerors, in foreign wars often vanquished; such evils, it is to be feared, have been brought about by those who seek more their own private gain than the true interests of their country.

But now from this cause there arises to the community at home the great misfortune that avarice, wantonness, insolence, and disobedience more and more gain the ascendancy, if we shall not take other measures and open our eyes so as to prevent the dangers that threaten us. The first and great danger is this, that we thereby draw down upon us the wrath of God; for his Word says: "And they covet fields, and take them by violence; and houses, and take them away: so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage" (Micah ii, 2). Ye have thrown a cloak over the eyes of the people, and led away the simple to the war. Ye have drawn away the women from their homes. Therefore the Lord

speaks these words: "Behold, against this family do I devise an evil from which ye shall not remove your necks; neither shall ye go haughtily: for this time is evil." These words are clear enough, in which the prophet declares the iniquity of war and the threatenings of the wrath of God. Let each one for himself reflect on the evils of war and think how it would be with him if he were treated in the manner in which we use our fellow Christians. Think, now that a foreign mercenary came into thy land with violence; laid waste thy meads, thy fields, thy vineyards; drove off thy cattle; bound thy house-furniture together and carted it away; slew thy son in the attack, who would defend himself and thee; violated the chastity of thy daughters; kicked with his feet the dear wife of thy bosom, who went before thee, and fell down at the feet of this foreign soldier, begging mercy for thee and herself; dragged out thyself, pious, worthy, old man, even in thine own house and home, from the place where thou wert crouching in fear, knocked thee down in presence of thy wife, despite her cries, and despite thine own trembling, venerable, pleading gray hairs; and then at last set fire to thy dwelling and burned it to the ground,—wouldst thou not think within thyself, if the heaven did not open and spit fire on such villany, if the earth did not yawn and swallow up such monsters, there were no God? And yet thou doest all this to another and callest it, forsooth, "the right of war!"

Those who, for truth, religion, justice, and native country, venture their lives in war, are true men, and their cause is sacred. But as for those bloodthirsty, mercenary soldiers who take the field for gain, of whom the world is now full, and those wars which princes carry on, from day to day, out of lust of power, filling the earth with bloodshed, I, for my part, not only cannot approve them, but I believe there is

nothing more wicked and criminal, and have the opinion that such men deserve to be branded as highway robbers, and that they are unworthy of the name of Christians.

The second danger that threatens us from the foreign lords and their wars is, that justice between man and man is stopped; as an old proverb says, "When arms are up in the hands, laws are under the feet." The term "right of war" means nothing but violence, use it as you will, turn it over as you will. Yet it is objected,—force must be employed to reduce the disobedient if they refuse to yield obedience to things lawful and right. Yea, verily, it were good it went no farther, and that the thunderbolt of war struck these alone, and that each forced only the disobedient to obedience in things lawful. But what sayest thou of the man who takes money and helps a foreign master to plunder, lay waste, and rob those who have done him no injury whatever; nay, who carries his sword to such masters whom it does not become to go to war at all, bishops, popes, abbots, and this, too, for vile money? Farther, the foreign lords do prejudice to the cause of justice in so far that their gifts blind the eyes of every man, be he as wise as you will, and deprive him of his reason as well as of his piety; as Moses teaches, "A gift doth blind the eyes of the wise and pervert the words of the righteous."

The third danger is that with foreign money and foreign wars our manners will become corrupted and debased. This we see very clearly, for our people have never returned from the foreign wars without bringing something new in clothes for themselves and their wives, or without importing home some new extravagance in eating and drinking, some new oaths; the bad they see and learn with readiness, so that we have reason to fear, if these wars be not desisted from, we shall be inundated with still worse evils.

The morality of the women, too, is corrupted. A woman is a weak creature, and desirous of new, handsome things, ornaments, fine clothes, jewels (as we see in Dinah, who went to Sechem out of curiosity, and was there humbled), and when such like things are made to flash in their eyes, and offered to them, think you that they will not be moved by these things, and that the temptation will not be too strong for them? It is to be feared, too, that in time the number of the males will be diminished, although as yet this has been less noticeable. But at least they are unmanned by luxury. Now no one will work to obtain a living, the lands are out of cultivation, and lie waste in many places, because laborers are not to be got, although there be people enough, and a land that could well nourish us all. If it bear not cinnamon, ginger, malmsey, cloves, oranges, silk, and other such dainties for the palate, it bears at least butter, milk, horses, sheep, cattle, lint, wine, and corn, and that to the full, so that we can rear a fine, strong race of men, and as to what we want in our own country we can obtain it elsewhere against our own produce. That we do not hold to this comes from the selfishness that has been introduced among us, and which leads us off from labor to idleness.

And yet to work is noble; it saves from wantonness and vice; it yields good fruit, so that a man can richly nourish his body without care, and without the fear that he sully himself with the blood of the innocent, and live by it. It makes the body, too, hale and strong, dissipates diseases engendered by idleness, and last of all, fruit and increase follow the hand of the worker, as creation itself came from the hand of the all-working God at the beginning, so that, in external things, there is nothing in the universe so like God as the worker.

It is to selfishness we owe it that all our strength and power,

which ought to defend our country, are consumed in the service of foreign masters. Behold how unlike we are to our ancestors! These would not suffer foreign masters in their land, but now we lead them in among us by the hand, if they have but money, that some may get hold of the money while many get the stripes. And when a pious man has brought up a well-doing son, then come the captains and steal him away, and he must expose himself to the danger of dying of hunger, disease, murder, shot, or wounds. And if he reckon up his bargained money he will find he could have won more by threshing, without speaking of his being run through the body with a spear ere the account comes to be paid; and last of all, his poor old father that brought him up, and whom he should have maintained in his old age, is reduced to carry the beggar's staff.

But those who get the money want for nothing. They force us into alliances with foreign masters, but only after they themselves have been bought over by heavy bribes. And, when it comes to loss, your neighbor or your neighbor's son must bear it, while they come off scot-free. And although it stands in the conditions that none is to be forced, yet recruiting parties spread themselves over the whole land, and then it is seen what young blood will do when it is up. And with the remuneration it is to be taken into account that those who get the largest bribes conceal them, but, these living in riot and expense, another, who thinks he cannot be less than they, goes to the like expense. And if he cannot afford this, then he is at the mercy of the briber, who at last takes his vineyard, fields, and meadows. Then he helps him to a small pension, on which he cannot live, and so, having lost his all, he must in the end face war and wounds for a wretched pay. In this manner we lose our best sons, who for vile money are con-

sumed in a foreign land. But few, indeed, become rich, but these so rich that they might buy off the rest.

The fourth danger is that the gifts of the foreign lords breed hatred and distrust among us. The Almighty granted to our ancestors grace and favor in his sight, so that they freed themselves from a tyrannous nobility and lived in concord with one another. They prospered; while right and justice were so well administered in this land that all who were oppressed in foreign countries fled hither as to an asylum of safety. Then fear seized the hearts of the princes, who would not themselves act justly, and who yet stood in awe of our bold and unflinching attitude. But seeing that the Lord was strong on our side, so that they could not overcome us by force, they seduced us by the bait of bribes, and reduced us by enslaving us first to selfishness. They laid their schemes and considered that if one of us were to see a friend or a neighbor suddenly growing rich without any trade or profession, and living at his ease in riches, he too would be stirred up, in order that he might dress finely, live in idleness, carousing, and wantonness, like his neighbor, to hunt after riches (for all men incline naturally against work and toward idleness), and that, if the like riches were not vouchsafed to him, he would join himself to the ranks of their opponents; that in this manner disunion would be created, so that father should be against son, brother against brother, friend against friend, neighbor against neighbor, and then that the kingdom, as the Son of God himself says, thus divided against itself, would not stand, and there would be an end of the Confederacy. This was what they calculated upon.

Envy is the natural accompaniment of prosperity, so that where there is good fortune there is also ill will. How much, then, must envy and hatred be stirred up when one mem-

ber of the community is so far privileged above the others as I have described? But when the hour of danger arrives, is not one true man as good as another? Nay, do not the poor often fight for their country with more bravery and resolution than the rich? Out of such envy, then, springs the disunion and ill will of those who say, "Go thou forward, do this and that; thou hast taken more money, take also more blows." Do ye not perceive that the counsel of these foreign masters has answered well the end they had in view, at least in part? The seeds of selfishness have been sown in the land, and discord is the crop. Therefore the great love that from childhood I have borne to my native country compels me to make my cares in regard to this its state known, lest greater mischief befall us, and that we may return from our folly while this is possible and before the evil become altogether incurable. If not, there is ground to fear that the lords whom we beat with iron and halbert will vanquish us with the touch of gold.

And if any one should inquire, How are we to deliver ourselves from these evils, and return again to union? — I answer, By abstaining from selfishness. For, if this base passion did not reign among us, the Confederacy were more a union of brothers than of confederates. If one rejoins to this, Selfishness is implanted in the human heart, from whence it cannot be eradicated, for God alone can know and change the heart, then I answer, Do earnestly that which lies in your power. Where you find it punishable, punish it, and let it not grow. And that it may be extirpated out of the very hearts of men, give heed that the divine word be faithfully preached.

For where God is not in the heart there is nothing but the man himself. Where there is nothing but the man himself,

he cares for nothing but that which serves to his interests, pleasures, and lusts. But when God possesses the heart, then man has regard to that which pleases God, seeks the honor of God, and the profit of his fellow man. Now, the knowledge of God can come to us in no way clearer than from the Word of God. Will you, then, have the knowledge of God spread among you, so that you may live in peace and in the fear of God? then see to it that the Word of God is purely preached, according to its natural sense, unadulterated by the glosses and inventions of man.

[Translated by John Cochran.]

CRANMER



THOMAS CRANMER, archbishop of Canterbury, English statesman and ecclesiastic, and one of the notable martyrs in the English Reformation, was born at Aslacton, Nottinghamshire, July 2, 1489. He studied at Cambridge University and was made a Fellow of Jesus College and one of the public examiners there in theology. Coming into favor with Henry VIII., he was appointed archbishop of Canterbury in 1533, and was one of the king's supporters in the matter of his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. At this time, Cranmer was one of the royal chaplains. In 1535, he, with other bishops, formally abjured allegiance to Rome, but he labored earnestly to prevent the condemnation of such men as More and Fisher, who would not acknowledge the royal supremacy. In 1540, the revised version of the Bible upon which the bishops had been engaged for five years was ordered to be set up in all the churches, and this presently came to be known as Cranmer's Bible. Cranmer was at first disposed to favor the more conservative views of the Reformers, but events brought him more fully into line with them, until he was recognized by both sides as one of the leaders and zealous advocates of the Reformation movement. On the accession of Mary he was charged alike with treason and with heresy and was confined with Latimer and Ridley in the Tower of London. While there, weary of his long imprisonment and exhausted by the anxieties of his position, he was induced to sign a recantation of his former opinions, but finally repudiated his recantation, declaring that the hand that had signed it should burn first when they brought him to the stake. He was hurried forth from St. Mary's church, Oxford, where he had made this statement, and was publicly burned at the stake on March 21, 1556. Historians, such as Froude, have strongly insisted on the general purity and uprightness of Cranmer's life and character.

FROM SERMON ON GOOD WORKS ANNEXED UNTO FAITH

IN THE last sermon was declared unto you what the lively and true faith of a Christian man is; that it causeth not a man to be idle, but to be occupied in bringing forth good works, as occasion serveth.

Now, by God's grace, shall be declared the second thing that before was noted of faith, that without it can no good work be done acceptable and pleasant unto God. "For as a branch cannot bear fruit of itself," saith Our Saviour, Christ, "except it abide in the vine, so cannot you except you abide in me. I am the vine, and you be the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, he bringeth forth much fruit;

for without me you can do nothing." And St. Paul proveth that Enoch had faith, because he pleased God: "For without faith," saith he, "it is not possible to please God." And again, to the Romans he saith: "Whatsoever work is done without faith, it is sin." Faith giveth life to the soul; and they be as much dead to God that lack faith as they be to the world whose bodies lack souls. Without faith all that is done of us is but dead before God, although the work seem never so gay and glorious before man. Even as a picture graven or painted is but a dead representation of the thing itself, and is without life or any manner of moving, so be the works of all unfaithful persons before God. They do appear to be lively works, and indeed they be but dead, not availing to the eternal life. They be but shadows and shows of lively and good things, and not good and lively things indeed; for true faith doth give life to the works, and out of such faith come good works, that be very good works indeed; and without it no work is good before God.

As saith St. Augustine: "We must set no good works before faith, nor think that before faith a man may do any good work; for such works, although they seem unto men to be praiseworthy, yet indeed they be but vain, and not allowed before God. They be as the course of a horse that runneth out of the way, which taketh great labor, but to no purpose. Let no man, therefore," saith he, "reckon upon his good works before his faith; where, as faith was not, good works were not. The intent," saith he, "maketh the good works; but faith must guide and order the intent of man." And Christ saith: "If thine eye be naught, thy whole body is full of darkness." "The eye doth signify the intent," saith St. Augustine, "wherewith a man doth a thing; so that he which doth not his good works with a godly intent, and a true faith

that worketh by love, the whole body beside, that is to say, all the whole number of his works, is dark, and there is no light in it."

For good deeds be not measured by the facts themselves, and so dissevered from vices, but by the ends and intents for the which they be done. If a heathen man clothe the naked, feed the hungry, and do such other like works; yet because he doth them not in faith for the honor and love of God, they be but dead, vain, and fruitless works to him.

Faith it is that doth commend the work to God: "for," as St. Augustine saith, "whether thou wilt or no, that work that cometh not of faith is naught;" where the faith of Christ is not the foundation, there is no good work, what building soever we make. "There is one work, in the which be all good works, that is, faith which worketh by charity:" if thou have it, thou hast the ground of all good works; for the virtues of strength, wisdom, temperance, and justice be all referred unto this same faith. Without this faith we have not them, but only the names and shadows of them, as St. Augustine saith: "All the life of them that lack the true faith is sin; and nothing is good without him that is the author of goodness: where he is not, there is but feigned virtue, although it be in the best works." And St. Augustine, declaring this verse of the psalm, "The turtle hath found a nest where she may keep her young birds," saith that Jews, heretics, and pagans do good works: they clothe the naked, feed the poor, and do other good works of mercy; but because they be not done in the true faith therefore the birds be lost. But if they remain in faith, then faith is the nest and safeguard of their birds; that is to say, safeguard of their good works, that the reward of them be not utterly lost.

And this matter (which St. Augustine at large in many

books disputeth), St. Ambrose concludeth in few words, saying: "He that by nature would withstand vice, either by natural will or reason, he doth in vain garnish the time of this life, and attaineth not the very true virtues; for without the worshipping of the true God that which seemeth to be virtue is vice.

And yet most plainly to this purpose writeth St. John Chrysostom in this wise: "You shall find many which have not the true faith, and be not of the flock of Christ, and yet (as it appeareth) they flourish in good works of mercy: you shall find them full of pity, compassion, and given to justice; and yet for all that they have no fruit of their works, because the chief work lacketh. For when the Jews asked of Christ what they should do to work good works, he answered: 'This is the work of God, to believe in him whom he sent;' so that he called faith the work of God. And as soon as a man hath faith, anon he shall flourish in good works; for faith of itself is full of good works, and nothing is good without faith." And for a similitude he saith that "they which glister and shine in good works without faith in God be like dead men, which have goodly and precious tombs, and yet it availeth them nothing. Faith may not be naked without works, for then it is no true faith; and when it is adjoined to works yet it is above the works. For as men, that be very men indeed, first have life and after be nourished; so must our faith in Christ go before, and after be nourished with good works. And life may be without nourishment, but nourishment cannot be without life. A man must needs be nourished by good works, but first he must have faith. He that doth good deeds, yet without faith, he hath not life. I can show a man that by faith without works lived and came to heaven; but without faith never man had life. The thief that was hanged when

Christ suffered did believe only, and the most merciful God did justify him. And because no man shall object that he lacked time to do good works, for else he would have done them, **truth** it is, and I will not contend therein, but this I will surely affirm, that faith only saved him. If he had lived, and not regarded faith and the works thereof, he should have lost his salvation again. But this is the effect that I say, that faith by itself saved him, but works by themselves never justified any man."

Here ye have heard the mind of St. Chrysostom, whereby you may perceive that neither faith is without works (having opportunity thereto), nor works can avail to eternal life without faith.

MELANCHTHON



HILIP MELANCHTHON, great German Protestant reformer and friend of Luther, was born at Bretten, Baden, in the Rhenish Palatinate, on Feb. 16, 1497. His father's name was Schwarzherd (black earth), of which Melanchthon is a translation into Greek. He studied at Heidelberg and Tübingen, and took a doctor's degree in 1514. In 1518, he was appointed by the Elector of Saxony professor of Greek at the University of Wittenberg. While here he collaborated with Luther in a translation of the Scriptures from the Greek. In 1521, during Luther's confinement in the Wartburg, Melanchthon was the leader of the Reformation cause at the university. After the first Diet of Spire (1526), Melanchthon was named one of the twenty-eight commissioners to visit the Reformed States and regulate the constitution of the churches. At the Marburg Conference (1529), between the German and Swiss reformers, Melanchthon was pitted against Zwingli in the discussion regarding the Real Presence in the sacrament. At the Diet of Augsburg (1530), Melanchthon was the leading representative of the Reformation. He drew up the seventeen articles of the evangelical faith, known as the "Augsburg Confession." In 1537, Melanchthon, it is said, appended to his signature of the Lutheran Articles of Smalkald the reservation that he would admit the supremacy of the Pope, provided the latter recognized the authority of the Gospel, and did not claim to rule by divine right. He died at Wittenberg, April 19, 1560, and his body was laid beside that of Luther. His work as a scholar and theologian gives him a prominent place in the great movement of the Protestant Reformation.

FUNERAL ORATION OVER MARTIN LUTHER

IT WILL be necessary to advert to these considerations as often as the name of the Reverend Doctor Martin Luther, our most beloved father and teacher, is introduced, whom we love and honor, detestable as he appears in the eyes of many wicked men, and whom we know to have been raised up by heaven as a minister of the true gospel, by evidences which, notwithstanding the charges of our opponents, prove that his doctrines

were neither seditious nor dispersed abroad with a blind and impetuous zeal.

In this place and on these occasions many things are usually said in a panegyrical strain respecting the personal endowments of the deceased. I propose, however, to omit these and advert chiefly to his ecclesiastical function. Intelligent and pious persons will admit, if he were the means of promoting useful and necessary truth in the church, we ought to be grateful to the Providence of God for raising up such a light, while his labors, faith, perseverance and other virtues ought to be duly acknowledged and his memory tenderly cherished by all worthy men.

The apostle Paul represents Christ as "having ascended on high to give gifts unto men," that is, the preaching of the gospel and the Holy Spirit; for the purpose of communicating which, "he gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers;" selecting them from among those who read, study, and delight in sacred writings. Nor are they only called into the Christian service who occupy the more ordinary stations, but others are frequently introduced under the direction of learned men into this holy warfare, and it is both pleasing and profitable to witness the care of God to his church throughout all ages, in sending a continued succession of useful men, that as some fall in the glorious field others may instantly rush forward to take their places.

The first of our race who nobly occupied the foremost ranks were Adam, Seth, Enoch, Methuselah, Noah, and Shem. The latter being yet alive and dwelling in the neighborhood of Sodom when the inhabitants of the earth, forgetting the instructions of Noah and Shem, became addicted to idolatry, God raised up a coadjutor of Shem in the person of Abraham,

to co-operate in the great work of propagating divine truth. To him succeeded Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph, who kindled the light of true religion in Egypt, at that period the most flourishing empire in the world; and to them Moses, Joshua, Samuel, David, Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, and Zachariah. After them arose Esdras, Onias, and the Macca-bees; then Simeon, Zacharias, John the Baptist, Christ and his apostles.

I am delighted to contemplate this unbroken succession, which affords conspicuous evidence of the presence of God in his church. The apostles were succeeded by a troop, so to speak, of inferior warriors, but nevertheless distinguished of heaven,—Polycarp, Irenæus, Gregory of Neocæsarea, Basil, Augustine, Prosper, Maximus, Hugo, Bernard, Taulerus, and others. And although the latter ages present a more barren aspect, God has always preserved a proportion of his servants upon the earth, and now, through Martin Luther, a more splendid period of light and truth has appeared.

To this enumeration of the most eminent among the sons of men who gathered and reformed the church of God may be added others who may be regarded as the flower of mankind. Solon, Themistocles, Scipio, Augustus, and others, who either established or ruled over mighty empires, were indeed truly great men, but far, far inferior to our illustrious leaders, Isaiah, John the Baptist, Paul, Augustine, and Luther, and it becomes us to study this distinction. What, then, are those great and important things which Luther has disclosed to our view, and which render his life so remarkable; for many are exclaiming against him as a disturber of the church and a promoter of inexplicable controversies? I answer that when the Holy Spirit, in his regulation of the church, reproves the world for sin, dissensions arise out of the pertinacity of wicked

men, and they alone are culpable who refuse to listen to the proclamation of the Eternal Father concerning his Son, "This is my beloved Son, Hear him."

Luther explained the true and important doctrine of penitence, which was involved in the profoundest darkness. He showed in what it consists and where refuge and consolation could be obtained under a sense of divine displeasure. He illustrated the statements of Paul respecting justification by faith, and showed the distinction between the law and the gospel, civil and spiritual justification. He pointed out the true principle of prayer, and exterminated that heathenish absurdity from the church that God was not to be invoked if the mind entertained the least doubt upon an academic question. He admonished men to pray, in the exercise of faith and a good conscience, to the only Mediator and Son of God, who is seated at the right hand of the Father, making intercession for us, and not to images or deceased saints according to the shocking practice of the ignorant multitude. He also pointed out other services acceptable to God, was singularly exemplary himself in all the duties of life, and separated the puerilities of human rites and ceremonies, which prevent instead of promoting genuine worship, from those services which are essential to obedience.

In order that heavenly light might be transmitted to posterity he translated the prophetic and apostolic writings into the German language with so much accuracy that his version of itself places Scripture in a more perspicuous light than most commentaries. But he published also various expositions upon the sacred writings which in the judgment of Erasmus by far excelled all others; and as it is recorded respecting those who rebuilt Jerusalem, "with one hand they laid the stones and with the other they held the sword," so, while he com-

posed annotations on Scripture replete with heavenly instruction, and consoled afflicted consciences by his pious counsels, he was necessitated at the same time to wage incessant war with the adversaries of evangelical truth. When it is recollected that this truth, especially the doctrine of faith and the remission of sins, is not discoverable by the merely human eye, it must be acknowledged he was taught of God, and many of us have witnessed his anxious solicitude to impress the great principle of acceptance by faith.

Multitudes of the saints will therefore praise God to all eternity for the benefits which have accrued to the church by the labors of Luther. To God their gratitude is primarily due, and then they will own themselves much indebted to his labors, although infidels who ridicule the church in general will consider these noble performances as no better than empty trifling or absolute insanity. The true church does not, as some falsely affirm, promote intricate disputations, throw out the apple of contention, and propose the enigmas of the fabled Sphinx; for to those who judge seriously and without prejudice it is easy, from a comparison of opposite opinions, to perceive what are consonant to the statements of heavenly truth and what are otherwise. Christians are no longer in a state of hesitation on the subject of existing controversies, for when God determined to reveal his will and display his character in the sacred writings it is not to be imagined that such a communication would be ambiguous, like the leaves of the ancient sibyl.

Some by no means evil-minded persons, however, express a suspicion that Luther manifested too much asperity. I will not affirm the reverse, but only quote the language of Erasmus, "God has sent in this latter age a violent physician on account of the magnitude of the existing disorders," fulfill-

ing by such a dispensation the divine message to Jeremiah, "Behold I have put my words in thy mouth. See I have this day set thee over the nations, and over the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, and to destroy and throw down, to build and to plant." Nor does God govern his church according to the counsels of men, nor choose to employ instruments like theirs to promote his purposes. But it is usual for inferior minds to dislike those of a more ardent character. When Aristides observed the mighty affairs which Themistocles, by the impulse of a superior genius, undertook and happily accomplished, although he congratulated the state on the advantage it possessed in such a man, he studied every means to divert his zealous mind from its pursuits. I do not deny that ardent spirits are sometimes betrayed into undue impetuosity, for no one is totally exempt from the weaknesses incident to human nature, but they often merit the praise assigned by the ancient proverb to Hercules, Cimon, and other illustrious characters, "rough, indeed, but distinguished by the best principles." So in the Christian church the apostle Paul mentions such as "war a good warfare, holding faith and a good conscience," and who are both pleasing to God and estimable among pious men. Such an one was Luther, who, while he constantly defended the pure doctrines of Christianity, maintained a conscientious integrity of character. No vain licentiousness was ever detected in him, no seditious counsels, but, on the contrary, he often urged the most pacific measures; and never, never did he blend political artifices for the augmentation of power with ecclesiastical affairs. Such wisdom and such virtue I am persuaded do not result from mere human skill or diligence, but the mind must be divinely influenced, especially when it is of the more rough, elevated, and ardent cast, like that of Luther.

What shall I say of his other virtues? Often have I myself gone to him unawares and found him dissolved in tears and prayers for the church of Christ. He devoted a certain portion of almost every day to the solemn reading of some of the Psalms of David, with which he mingled his own supplications amid sighs and tears; and he has frequently declared how indignant he felt against those who hastened over devotional exercises through sloth or the pretence of other occupations. On this account, said he, divine wisdom has prescribed some formularies of prayer, that our minds may be inflamed with devotion by reading them, to which, in his opinion, reading aloud very much conduced.

When a variety of great and important deliberations respecting public dangers have been pending, we have witnessed his prodigious vigor of mind, his fearless and unshaken courage. Faith was his sheet-anchor, and by the help of God he was resolved never to be driven from it. Such was his penetration that he perceived at once what was to be done in the most perplexing conjunctures; nor was he, as some supposed, negligent of the public good or disregarding of the wishes of others; but he was well acquainted with the interests of the state, and pre-eminently sagacious in discovering the capacity and dispositions of all about him. And although he possessed such extraordinary acuteness of intellect, he read both ancient and modern ecclesiastical writings with the utmost avidity, and histories of every kind, applying the examples they furnished to existing circumstances with remarkable dexterity. The undecaying monuments of his eloquence remain, and in my opinion he equalled any of those who have been most celebrated for their resplendent oratorical powers.

The removal of such a character from among us, of one who was endowed with the greatest intellectual capacity, well

instructed and long experienced in the knowledge of Christian truth, adorned with numerous excellences and with virtues of the most heroic cast, chosen by divine Providence to reform the church of God, and cherishing for all of us a truly paternal affection,— the removal, I say, of such a man demands and justifies our tears. We resemble orphans bereft of an excellent and faithful father; but, while it is necessary to submit to the will of heaven, let us not permit the memory of his virtues and his good offices to perish.

He was an important instrument, in the hands of God, of public utility; let us diligently study the truth he taught, imitating in our humble situations his fear of God, his faith, the intensity of his devotions, the integrity of his ministerial character, his purity, his careful avoidance of seditious counsel, his ardent thirst of knowledge. And as we frequently meditate upon the pious examples of those illustrious guides of the church, Jeremiah, John the Baptist, and Paul, whose histories are transmitted to us, so let us frequently reflect upon the doctrine and course of life which distinguished our departed friend. Let the present vast assembly now unite with me in grateful thanks and fervent supplications, saying, in the spirit of ardent devotion: “ We give thanks to thee, Almighty God, the eternal Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the author and founder of thy church, together with thy co-eternal Son and the Holy Spirit, wise, good, merciful, just, true, powerful, and sovereign, because thou dost gather a heritage for thy Son from among the human race, and dost maintain the ministry of the gospel, and hast now reformed thy church by means of Luther; we present our ardent supplications that thou wouldst henceforth preserve, fix, and impress upon our hearts the doctrines of truth, as Isaiah prayed for his disciples; and that by thy Holy Spirit thou

wouldst inflame our minds with a pure devotion and direct our feet into the paths of holy obedience!"

As the removal of illustrious men from the church is frequently a means of punishing their survivors, such of us as are entrusted with the office of tuition, myself personally, and all of us collectively, entreat you to reflect upon the present calamities that threaten the whole earth. Yonder the Turks are advancing, here civil discord threatens, and there other adversaries, released at last from the apprehension of Luther's censures, will proceed, with a perverse ingenuity and with increased boldness, to corrupt the genuine truth.

That God may avert these evils, let us be more diligent in the regulation of our lives and studies, always retaining a deep impression of this sentiment in our minds, that as long as we maintain, hear, obey, and love the pure doctrines of the gospel, God will always have a church and a dwelling-place among us. "If," said Jesus Christ, "a man love me, he will keep my words; and my Father will love him, and we will come unto him and make our abode with him." Encouraged by this ample promise, let us be stimulated to inculcate the truth of heaven, knowing that the church will be the preservation of the human race and the security of established governments; and let us constantly elevate our minds to that future and eternal state of being to which God himself calls our attention, who has not given so many witnesses nor sent his Son into the world in vain, but delights in the communication of these magnificent blessings. Amen.

[Translated by Francis Augustus Cox.]

JOHN KNOX



JOHN KNOX, the great Scottish reformer, statesman, and writer, was born near Haddington, Scotland, in 1505, and, after spending some time at the University of Glasgow, was notary and afterwards tutor in his native town. Attracted by the reformed doctrines, and coming under the influence of the saintly George Wishart, he began in 1547, to preach in the parish church at St. Andrews, and won many to adopt the new views. On the capture of the castle at St. Andrews by the French, he was carried into captivity, but soon returned and preached two years at Berwick, openly declaring the Mass to be idolatry. From Berwick he went to Newcastle, where he preached with equal freedom and vehemence. On the accession of Mary to the Scottish throne, he went to Dieppe, and afterward to Geneva, where he made the acquaintance of Calvin. When he returned to Scotland he went about the country preaching and writing. For two years he ministered to the English refugees who had fled from the Marian persecutions at Frankfort and at Geneva, after which he published "The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women," in which he impugned the right of females to govern, which so incensed Queen Elizabeth that she refused to allow him to pass through England on his way homeward. He accordingly landed at Leith in 1559, and speedily became the head of the Protestant party in Scotland. In the next year he became minister at Edinburgh. During the six years that preceded the imprisonment of Queen Mary at Lochleven, Knox remained loyal to her cause, but thought it incumbent upon him to administer to her much rebuke and unpalatable advice. He died at Edinburgh, Nov. 24, 1572. He was of an intolerant and fierce spirit, a political partisan, and an ecclesiastical bigot, but earnest, unselfish, and straightforward. The "History of the Reformation of Religion in Scotland" is his chief work, a vigorous piece of writing, more or less autobiographic. The vehemence of his preaching was such as to stir his hearers to iconoclastic zeal.

SERMON ON THE FIRST TEMPTATION OF CHRIST

"Then Jesus was led by the Spirit into the desert, that he should be tempted of the devil."—Matt. iv, 1.

THE cause moving me to treat of this place of Scripture is that such as by the inscrutable providence of God fall into divers temptations judge not themselves by reason thereof to be less acceptable in God's presence. But, on the contrary, having the way prepared to victory by Christ Jesus, they shall not fear above measure the crafty assaults

of that subtle serpent Satan; but with joy and bold courage, having such a guide as here is pointed forth, such a champion, and such weapons as here are to be found (if with obedience we will hear, and unfeigned faith believe), we may assure ourselves of God's present favor, and of final victory, by the means of him who, for our safeguard and deliverance, entered in the battle and triumphed over his adversary and all his raging fury. And that this, being heard and understood, may the better be kept in memory, this order, by God's grace, we propose to observe, in treating the matter: First, what this word "temptation" meaneth, and how it is used within the Scriptures. Second, who is here tempted, and at what time this temptation happened. Third, how and by what means he was tempted. Fourth, why he should suffer these temptations, and what fruit ensues to us from the same.

First. Temptation, or to tempt, in the Scriptures of God, is called to try, to prove, or to assault the valor, the power, the will, the pleasure, or the wisdom,—whether it be of God or of creatures. And it is taken sometimes in good part, as when it is said that God tempted Abraham; God tempted the people of Israel; that is, God did try and examine them, not for his own knowledge, to whom nothing is hid, but to certify others how obedient Abraham was to God's commandment, and how weak and inferior the Israelites were in their journey toward the promised land. And this temptation is always good, because it proceeds immediately from God, to open and make manifest the secret motions of men's hearts, the puissance and power of God's word, and the great lenity and gentleness of God toward the iniquities (yea, horrible sins and rebellions) of those whom he hath received into his regimen and care.

For who could have believed that the bare word of God

could so have moved the heart and affections of Abraham that, to obey God's commandment, he determined to kill, with his own hand, his best beloved son Isaac? who could have trusted that, so many torments as Job suffered, he should not speak in all his great temptations one foolish word against God? or who could have thought that God so mercifully should have pardoned so many and so manifest transgressions committed by his people in the desert, and yet that his mercy never utterly left them, but still continued with them till at length he performed his promise made to Abraham? Who, I say, would have been persuaded of these things unless, by trials and temptations taken of his creatures by God, they had come by revelation made in his holy Scriptures to our knowledge?

And so this kind of temptation is profitable, good, and necessary, as a thing proceeding from God, who is the fountain of all goodness, to the manifestation of his own glory and to the profit of the sufferer, however the flesh may judge in the hour of temptation. Otherwise temptation, or to tempt, is taken in evil part; that is, he that assaults or assails intends destruction and confusion to him that is assaulted. As when Satan tempted the woman in the garden, Job by divers tribulations, and David by adultery. The scribes and Pharisees tempted Christ by divers means, questions, and subtleties. And of this matter saith St. James, "God tempted no man;" that is, by temptation proceeding immediately from him, he intends no man's destruction. And here you shall note that although Satan appears sometimes to prevail against God's elect, yet he is ever frustrated of his final purpose.

By temptation he led Eve and David from the obedience of God, but he could not retain them forever under his thralldom. Power was granted to him to spoil Job of his sub-

stance and children, and to strike his body with a plague and sickness most vile and fearful, but he could not compel his mouth to blaspheme God's majesty; and therefore, although we are laid open sometimes, as it were, to tribulation for a time, it is that when he has poured forth the venom of his malice against God's elect it may return to his own confusion, and that the deliverance of God's children may be more to his glory and the comfort of the afflicted: knowing that his hand is so powerful, his mercy and good will so prompt, that he delivers his little ones from their cruel enemy, even as David did his sheep and lambs from the mouth of the lion.

For a benefit received in extreme danger more moves us than the preservation from ten thousand perils, so that we fall not into them. And yet to preserve from dangers and perils so that we fall not into them, whether they are of body or spirit, is no less the work of God than to deliver from them; but the weakness of our faith does not perceive it: this I leave at the present.

• Also, to tempt means simply to prove or try without any determinate purpose of profit or damage to ensue; as when the mind doubteth of anything and therein desires to be satisfied, without great love or extreme hatred of the thing that is tempted or tried, as the Queen of Sheba came to tempt Solomon in subtle questions. David tempted, that is, tried himself if he could go in harness (1 Sam. xvii). And Gideon said, "Let not thine anger kindle against me, if I tempt thee once again." This famous queen, not fully trusting the report and fame that was spread of Solomon, by subtle questions desired to prove his wisdom; at the first, neither extremely hating nor fervently loving the person of the king. And David, as a man not accustomed to harness,

would try how he was able to go, and behave and fashion himself therein, before he would hazard battle with Goliath so armed. And Gideon, not satisfied in his conscience by the first sign that he received, desired, without contempt or hatred of God, a second time to be certified of his vocation, In this sense must the Apostle be expounded when he commands us to tempt, that is, to try and examine ourselves, if we stand in the faith. Thus much for the term.

Now to the person tempted, and to the time and place of his temptation. The person tempted is the only well-beloved Son of God; the time was immediately after his baptism; and the place was the desert or wilderness. But that we derive advantage from what is related, we must consider the same more profoundly. That the Son of God was thus tempted gives instruction to us that temptations, although they be ever so grievous and fearful, do not separate us from God's favor and mercy, but rather declare the great graces of God to appertain to us, which makes Satan to rage as a roaring lion; for against none does he so fiercely fight as against those of whose hearts Christ has taken possession.

The time of Christ's temptation is here most diligently to be noted. And that was, as Mark and Luke witness, immediately after the voice of God the Father had commended his Son to the world and had visibly pointed to him by the sign of the Holy Ghost; he was led or moved by the Spirit to go to a wilderness, where forty days he remained fasting among the wild beasts.

This Spirit which led Christ into the wilderness was not the devil, but the holy Spirit of God the Father, by whom Christ, as touching his human and manly nature, was conducted and led; likewise by the same Spirit he was strengthened and made strong, and, finally, raised up from the dead. The Spirit of

God, I say, led Christ to the place of his battle, where he endured the combat for the whole forty days and nights. As Luke saith, "He was tempted," but in the end most vehemently, after his continual fasting, and that he began to be hungry. Upon this forty days and this fasting of Christ do our papists found and build their Lent; for, say they, all the actions of Christ are our instructions; what he did we ought to follow. But he fasted forty days, therefore we ought to do the like. I answer that if we ought to follow all Christ's actions then ought we neither to eat or drink for the space of forty days, for so fasted Christ: we ought to go upon the waters with our feet; to cast out devils by our word; to heal and cure all sorts of maladies; to call again the dead to life; for so did Christ. This I write only that men may see the vanity of those who, boasting themselves of wisdom, have become mad fools.

Did Christ fast thus forty days to teach us superstitious fasting? Can the papists assure me, or any other man, which were the forty days that Christ fasted? plain it is he fasted the forty days and nights that immediately followed his baptism, but which they were, or in what month was the day of his baptism, Scripture does not express; and although the day were expressed, am I or any Christian bound to counterfeit Christ's actions as the ape counterfeits the act or work of man? He himself requires no such obedience of his true followers, but saith to the apostles, "Go and preach the gospel to all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; commanding them to observe and keep all that I have commanded you."

Here Christ Jesus requires the observance of his precepts and commandments, not of his actions, except in so far as he had also commanded them; and so must the apostle be under-

stood when he saith, "Be followers of Christ, for Christ hath suffered for us, that we should follow his footsteps," which cannot be understood of every action of Christ, either in the mystery of our redemption or in his actions and marvellous works, but only of those which he hath commanded us to observe.

But where the papists are so diligent in establishing their dreams and fantasies, they lose the profit that here is to be gathered,—that is, why Christ fasted those forty days; which were a doctrine more necessary for Christians than to corrupt the simple hearts with superstition, as though the wisdom of God, Christ Jesus, had taught us no other mystery by his fasting than the abstinence from flesh, or once on the day to eat flesh, for the space of forty days. God hath taken a just vengeance upon the pride of such men, while he thus confounds the wisdom of those that do most glory in wisdom, and strikes with blindness such as will be guides and lanterns to the feet of others, and yet refuse themselves to hear or follow the light of God's word. From such deliver thy poor flock, O Lord!

The causes of Christ's fasting these forty days I find chiefly to be two: The first, to witness to the world the dignity and excellence of his vocation, which Christ, after his baptism, was to take upon him openly; the other, to declare that he entered into battle willingly for our cause, and does, as it were, provoke his adversary to assault him: although Christ Jesus, in the eternal counsel of his Father, was appointed to be the Prince of peace, the angel (that is, the messenger) of his testament, and he alone that could fight our battles for us, yet he did not enter in execution of it, in the sight of men, till he was commended to mankind by the voice of his heavenly Father, and as he was placed and anointed by the Holy Ghost

by a visible sign given to the eyes of men. After which time he was led to the desert, and fasted, as before is said; and this he did to teach us with what fear, carefulness, and reverence the messengers of the Word ought to enter on their vocation, which is not only most excellent (for who is worthy to be God's ambassador?), but also subject to most extreme troubles and dangers. For he that is appointed pastor, watchman, or preacher, if he feed not with his whole power; if he warn and admonish not when he sees the snare come; and if, in doctrine, he divide not the word righteously.—the blood and souls of those that perish for lack of food, admonition, and doctrine shall be required of his hand.

But to our purpose; that Christ exceeded not the space of forty days in his fasting, he did it to the imitation of Moses and Elias; of whom, the one before the receiving of the law, and the other before the communication and reasoning which he had with God in Mount Horeb, in which he was commanded to anoint Hazael king over Syria, and Jehu king over Israel, and Elisha to be prophet, fasted the same number of days. The events that ensued and followed this supernatural fasting of these two servants of God, Moses and Elias, impaired and diminished the tyranny of the kingdom of Satan. For by the law came the knowledge of sin, the damnation of such impieties, specially of idolatry, and such as the devil had invented; and, finally, by the law came such a revelation of God's will that no man could justly afterward excuse his sin by ignorance, by which the devil before had blinded many. So that the law, although it might not renew and purge the heart, for that the spirit of Christ Jesus worketh by faith only, yet it was a bridle that did hinder and stay the rage of external wickedness in many, and was a schoolmaster that led unto Christ. For when man can

find no power in himself to do that which is commanded, and perfectly understands, and when he believes that the curse of God is pronounced against all those that abide not in everything that is commanded in God's law to do them,— the man, I say, that understands and knows his own corrupt nature and God's severe judgment, most gladly will receive the free redemption offered by Christ Jesus, which is the only victory that overthrows Satan and his power.

And so, by the giving of the law, God greatly weakened, impaired, and made frail the tyranny and kingdom of the devil. In the days of Elias the devil had so prevailed that kings and rulers made open war against God, killing his prophets, destroying his ordinances, and building up idolatry, which did so prevail that the prophet complained that of all the true fearers and worshippers of God he was left alone, and wicked Jezebel sought his life also. After this, his fasting and complaint, he was sent by God to anoint the persons aforementioned, who took such vengeance upon the wicked and obstinate idolaters that he who escaped the sword of Hazael fell into the hands of Jehu, and those whom Jehu left escaped not God's vengeance under Elisha.

The remembrance of this was fearful to Satan, for, at the coming of Christ Jesus, impiety was in the highest degree among those that pretended most knowledge of God's will; and Satan was at such rest in his kingdom that the priests, scribes, and Pharisees had taken away the key of knowledge; that is, they had so obscured and darkened God's holy Scriptures, by false glosses and vain traditions, that neither would they enter themselves into the kingdom of God, nor suffer and permit others to enter, but with violence restrained, and with tyranny struck back from the right way,— that is, from Christ Jesus himself,— such as would have entered into

the possession of life everlasting by him. Satan, I say, having such dominion over the chief rulers of the visible church, and espying in Christ such graces as before he had not seen in man, and considering him to follow in fasting the footsteps of Moses and Elias, no doubt greatly feared that the quietness and rest of his most obedient servants, the priests, and their adherents, would be troubled by Christ.

And therefore, by all engines and craft, he assaults him to see what advantage he could have of him. And Christ did not repel him, as by the power of his Godhead he might have done, that he should not tempt him, but permitted him to spend all his artillery, and received the strokes and assaults of Satan's temptations in his own body, to the end he might weaken and enfeeble the strength and tyrannous power of our adversary by his long-suffering. . . .

O dear sisters, what comfort ought the remembrance of these signs to be to our hearts! Christ Jesus hath fought our battle; he himself hath taken us into his care and protection; however the devil may rage by temptations, be they spiritual or corporeal, he is not able to bereave us out of the hand of the almighty Son of God. To him be all glory for his mercies most abundantly poured upon us!

CALVIN



JOHN CALVIN (or in French Jean Cauvin, Latinized into Calvinus), a notable Protestant reformer and theologian, was born July 10, 1509, at Noyon, Picardy, France, where his father was the secretary of the bishop and where he received his early instruction. Later on he was sent to study at Paris, and in 1527 received the curacy of Marteville. The following year he went to Bourges, where he studied Greek under the tutor of Beza, and imbibed Huguenot doctrines; but in 1531 he returned to Paris, and in 1532 published his first book, a commentary upon Seneca's "De Clementia." On account of having advocated reformed doctrines he was obliged to flee from Paris; and he reached Bâle in 1534. In the meantime he had resigned two benefices which he had been holding, and had published several theological works. In 1536, his greatest work, the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," appeared, the latest version of it being issued many years afterward, in 1559. In 1540, he was settled as pastor at Strasburg, where he married. In 1541, he went to Geneva, which was his home for the remainder of his life. He became practically the ruler of that city, and exercised his authority rigidly, his influence being powerfully felt by reformers everywhere. He was an uncompromising opponent of all views contrary to his own, and his zeal against what he considered heresy was shown in his burning of Servetus in Geneva in 1553, a deed which remains a blot upon his fame. He died at Geneva, May 27, 1564. Calvin was the greatest of Protestant commentators and theologians, and has left his impress upon the thought of his own and of later ages. He was, however, a man rather to fear than to love.

SERMON ON ENDURING PERSECUTION

"Let us go forth out of the tents after Christ, bearing his reproach."—Hebrews xiii, 13.

ALL the exhortations which can be given us to suffer patiently for the name of Jesus Christ, and in defense of the gospel, will have no effect if we do not feel assured of the cause for which we fight. For when we are called to part with life it is absolutely necessary to know on what grounds. The firmness necessary we cannot possess unless it be founded on certainty of faith.

It is true that persons may be found who will foolishly expose themselves to death in maintaining some absurd opinions and reveries conceived by their own brain, but such impetuosity is more to be regarded as frenzy than as Christian zeal; and, in fact, there is neither firmness nor sound sense in those who thus, at a kind of hap-hazard, cast themselves away. But, however this may be, it is in a good cause only that God can acknowledge us as his martyrs. Death is common to all, and the children of God are condemned to ignominy and tortures just as criminals are; but God makes the distinction between them, inasmuch as he cannot deny his truth.

On our part, then, it is requisite that we have sure and infallible evidence of the doctrine which we maintain; and hence, as I have said, we cannot be rationally impressed by any exhortations which we receive to suffer persecution for the gospel, if no true certainty of faith has been imprinted in our hearts. For to hazard our life upon a peradventure is not natural, and though we were to do it, it would only be rashness, not Christian courage. In a word, nothing that we do will be approved of God if we are not thoroughly persuaded that it is for him and his cause we suffer persecution and the world is our enemy.

Now, when I speak of such persuasion, I mean not merely that we must know how to distinguish between true religion and the abuses or follies of men, but also that we must be thoroughly persuaded of the heavenly life, and the crown which is promised us above, after we shall have fought here below. Let us understand, then, that both of these requisites are necessary, and cannot be separated from each other. The points, accordingly, with which we must commence, are these: We must know well what our Christianity is, what

the faith which we have to hold and follow — what the rule which God has given us; and we must be so well furnished with such instructions as to be able boldly to condemn all the falsehoods, errors, and superstitions which Satan has introduced to corrupt the pure simplicity of the doctrine of God. Hence we ought not to be surprised that, in the present day, we see so few persons disposed to suffer for the gospel, and that the greater part of those who call themselves Christians know not what it is. For all are as it were lukewarm, and, instead of making it their business to hear or read, count it enough to have had some slight taste of Christian faith. This is the reason why there is so little decision, and why those who are assailed immediately fall away. This fact should stimulate us to inquire more diligently into divine truth, in order to be well assured with regard to it.

Still, however, to be well informed and grounded is not the whole that is necessary. For we see some who seem to be thoroughly imbued with sound doctrine, and who, notwithstanding, have no more zeal or affection than if they had never known any more of God than some fleeting fancy. Why is this? Just because they have never comprehended the majesty of the holy Scriptures. And, in fact, did we, such as we are, consider well that it is God who speaks to us, it is certain that we would listen more attentively and with greater reverence. If we would think that in reading Scripture we are in the school of angels, we would be far more careful and desirous to profit by the doctrine which is propounded to us.

We now see the true method of preparing to suffer for the gospel. First, We must have profited so far in the school of God as to be decided in regard to true religion

and the doctrine which we are to hold; and we must despise all the wiles and impostures of Satan, and all human inventions, as things not only frivolous but also carnal, inasmuch as they corrupt Christian purity; therein differing, like true martyrs of Christ, from the fantastic persons who suffer for mere absurdities. Second, Feeling assured of the good cause, we must be inflamed, accordingly, to follow God whithersoever he may call us: his word must have such authority with us as it deserves, and, having withdrawn from this world, we must feel as it were enraptured in seeking the heavenly life.

But it is more than strange that, though the light of God is shining more brightly than it ever did before, there is a lamentable want of zeal! If the thought does not fill us with shame, so much the worse. For we must shortly come before the great Judge, where the iniquity which we endeavor to hide will be brought forward with such upbraidings that we shall be utterly confounded. For, if we are obliged to bear testimony to God according to the measure of the knowledge which he has given us, to what is it owing, I would ask, that we are so cold and timorous in entering into battle, seeing that God has so fully manifested himself at this time that he may be said to have opened to us and displayed before us the great treasures of his secrets? May it not be said that we do not think we have to do with God? For had we any regard to his majesty we would not dare to turn the doctrine which proceeds from his mouth into some kind of philosophic speculation. In short, it is impossible to deny that it is to our great shame, not to say fearful condemnation, that we have so well known the truth of God and have so little courage to maintain it!

Above all, when we look to the martyrs of past times, well may we detest our own cowardice! The greater part

of those were not persons much versed in holy Scripture, so as to be able to dispute on all subjects. They knew that there was one God, whom they behoved to worship and serve; that they had been redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, in order that they might place their confidence of salvation in him and in his grace; and that, all the inventions of men being mere dross and rubbish, they ought to condemn all idolatries and superstitions. In one word, their theology was in substance this: There is one God, who created all the world, and declared his will to us by Moses and the Prophets, and finally by Jesus Christ and his apostles; and we have one sole Redeemer, who purchased us by his blood, and by whose grace we hope to be saved; all the idols of the world are cursed, and deserve execration.

With a system embracing no other points than these, they went boldly to the flames or to any other kind of death. They did not go in twos or threes, but in such bands that the number of those who fell by the hands of tyrants is almost infinite. We, on our part, are such learned clerks, that none can be more so (so at least we think), and, in fact, so far as regards the knowledge of Scripture, God has so spread it out before us that no former age was ever so highly favored. Still, after all, there is scarcely a particle of zeal. When men manifest such indifference it looks as if they were bent on provoking the vengeance of God.

What, then, should be done in order to inspire our breasts with true courage? We have, in the first place, to consider how precious the Confession of our Faith is in the sight of God. We little know how much God prizes it, if our life, which is nothing, is valued by us more highly. When it is so, we manifest a marvellous degree of stupidity. We cannot save our life at the expense of our confession without

acknowledging that we hold it in higher estimation than the honor of God and the salvation of our souls.

A heathen could say that "it was a miserable thing to save life by giving up only things which made life desirable!" And yet he and others like him never knew for what end men are placed in the world and why they live in it. It is true they knew enough to say that men ought to follow virtue, to conduct themselves honestly and without reproach; but all their virtues were mere paint and smoke. We know far better what the chief aim of life should be, namely, to glorify God, in order that he may be our glory. When this is not done, woe to us! And we cannot continue to live for a single moment upon the earth without heaping additional curses on our heads. Still we are not ashamed to purchase some few days to languish here below, renouncing the eternal kingdom by separating ourselves from him by whose energy we are sustained in life.

Were we to ask the most ignorant, not to say the most brutish persons in the world, why they live, they would not venture to answer simply that it is to eat and drink and sleep; for all know that they have been created for a higher and holier end. And what end can we find if it be not to honor God, and allow ourselves to be governed by him, like children by a good parent; so that after we have finished the journey of this corruptible life we may be received into his eternal inheritance? Such is the principal, indeed the sole end. When we do not take it into account, and are intent on a brutish life, which is worse than a thousand deaths, what can we allege for our excuse? To live and not know why is unnatural. To reject the causes for which we live, under the influence of a foolish longing for a respite of some few days, during which we are to live in the world while

separated from God — I know not how to name such infatuation and madness.

But as persecution is always harsh and bitter, let us consider how and by what means Christians may be able to fortify themselves with patience, so as unflinchingly to expose their life for the truth of God. The text which we have read out, when it is properly understood, is sufficient to induce us to do so. The Apostle says, "Let us go forth from the city after the Lord Jesus, bearing his reproach." In the first place he reminds us, although the swords should not be drawn over us nor the fires kindled to burn us, that we cannot be truly united to the Son of God while we are rooted in this world. Wherefore, a Christian, even in repose, must always have one foot lifted to march to battle, and not only so, but he must have his affections withdrawn from the world, although his body is dwelling in it. Grant that this at first sight seems to us hard, still we must be satisfied with the words of St. Paul, "We are called and appointed to suffer." As if he had said, Such is our condition as Christians; this is the road by which we must go if we would follow Christ.

Meanwhile, to solace our infirmity and mitigate the vexation and sorrow which persecution might cause us, a good reward is held forth: In suffering for the cause of God we are walking step by step after the Son of God and have him for our guide. Were it simply said that to be Christians we must pass through all the insults of the world boldly, to meet death at all times and in whatever way God may be pleased to appoint, we might apparently have some pretext for replying, It is a strange road to go at a peradventure. But when we are commanded to follow the Lord Jesus, his guidance is too good and honorable to be refused. Now, in order that we may be more deeply moved, not only is it said that Jesus

Christ walks before us as our Captain, but that we are made conformable to his image; as St. Paul speaks in the eighth chapter to the Romans, "God hath ordained all those whom he hath adopted for his children, to be made conformable to him who is the pattern and head of all."

Are we so delicate as to be unwilling to endure anything? Then we must renounce the grace of God by which he has called us to the hope of salvation. For there are two things which cannot be separated,—to be members of Christ and to be tried by many afflictions. We certainly ought to prize such a conformity to the Son of God much more than we do. It is true that in the world's judgment there is disgrace in suffering for the gospel. But since we know that unbelievers are blind, ought we not to have better eyes than they? It is ignominy to suffer from those who occupy the seat of justice, but St. Paul shows us by his example that we have to glory in scourgings for Jesus Christ, as marks by which God recognises us and avows us for his own. And we know what St. Luke narrates of Peter and John, namely, that they rejoiced to have been "counted worthy to suffer infamy and reproach for the name of the Lord Jesus."

Ignominy and dignity are two opposites: so says the world which, being infatuated, judges against all reason, and in this way converts the glory of God into dishonor. But, on our part, let us not refuse to be vilified as concerns the world, in order to be honored before God and his angels. We see what pains the ambitious take to receive the commands of a king, and what a boast they make of it. The Son of God presents his commands to us, and every one stands back! Tell me, pray, whether in so doing are we worthy of having anything in common with him? There is nothing here to attract our sensual nature, but such, notwithstanding, are the true

escutcheons of nobility in the heavens. Imprisonment, exile, evil report, imply in men's imagination whatever is to be vituperated; but what hinders us from viewing things as God judges and declares them, save our unbelief? Wherefore let the Name of the Son of God have all the weight with us which it deserves, that we may learn to count it honor when he stamps his marks upon us. If we act otherwise our ingratitude is insupportable.

Were God to deal with us according to our deserts, would he not have just cause to chastise us daily in a thousand ways? Nay, more, a hundred thousand deaths would not suffice for a small portion of our misdeeds! Now, if in his infinite goodness he puts all our faults under his foot and abolishes them, and, instead of punishing us according to our demerit, devises an admirable means to convert our afflictions into honor and a special privilege, inasmuch as through them we are taken into partnership with his Son, must it not be said, when we disdain such a happy state, that we have indeed made little progress in Christian doctrine?

¶ Accordingly St. Peter, after exhorting us to walk so purely in the fear of God as "not to suffer as thieves, adulterers, and murderers," immediately adds, "If we must suffer as Christians, let us glorify God for the blessing which he thus bestows upon us." It is not without cause he speaks thus. For who are we, I pray, to be witnesses of the truth of God, and advocates to maintain his cause? Here we are poor worms of the earth, creatures full of vanity, full of lies, and yet God employs us to defend his truth — an honor which pertains not even to the angels of heaven! May not this consideration alone well inflame us to offer ourselves to God to be employed in any way in such honorable service?

Many persons, however, cannot refrain from pleading

against God, or, at least, from complaining against him for not better supporting their weakness. It is marvellously strange, they say, how God, after having chosen us for his children, allows us to be so trampled upon and tormented by the ungodly. I answer: Even were it not apparent why he does so, he might well exercise his authority over us and fix our lot at his pleasure. But when we see that Jesus Christ is our pattern, ought we not, without inquiring further, to esteem it great happiness that we are made like to him? God, however, makes it very apparent what the reasons are for which he is pleased that we should be persecuted. Had we nothing more than the consideration suggested by St. Peter, we were disdainful indeed not to acquiesce in it. He says, "Since gold and silver, which are only corruptible metals, are purified and tested by fire, it is but reasonable that our faith, which surpasses all the riches of the world, should be tried."

It were easy indeed for God to crown us at once without requiring us to sustain any combats; but as it is his pleasure that until the end of the world Christ shall reign in the midst of his enemies, so it is also his pleasure that we, being placed in the midst of them, shall suffer their oppression and violence till he deliver us. I know, indeed, that the flesh kicks when it is to be brought to this point, but still the will of God must have the mastery. If we feel some repugnance in ourselves it need not surprise us; for it is only too natural for us to shun the cross. Still let us not fail to surmount it, knowing that God accepts our obedience, provided we bring all our feelings and wishes into captivity and make them subject to him.

When the prophets and apostles went to death it was not without feeling within some inclination to recoil. "They

will lead thee whither thou wouldst not," said our Lord Jesus Christ to Peter. When such fears of death arise within us, let us gain the mastery over them, or rather let God gain it; and meanwhile let us feel assured that we offer him a pleasing sacrifice when we resist and do violence to our inclinations for the purpose of placing ourselves entirely under his command. This is the principal war in which God would have his people to be engaged. He would have them strive to suppress every rebellious thought and feeling which would turn them aside from the path to which he points. And the consolations are so ample that it may well be said we are more than cowards if we give way.

In ancient times vast numbers of people, to obtain a simple crown of leaves, refused no toil, no pain, no trouble; nay, it even cost them nothing to die, and yet every one of them fought for a peradventure, not knowing whether he was to gain or lose the prize. God holds forth to us the immortal crown by which we may become partakers of his glory. He does not mean us to fight at hap-hazard, but all of us have a promise of the prize for which we strive. Have we any cause, then, to decline the struggle? Do we think it has been said in vain, "If we die with Jesus Christ we shall also live with him?" Our triumph is prepared, and yet we do all we can to shun the combat.

WENTWORTH



ETER WENTWORTH, an independent English parliamentary orator, member for Cornwall, who in Queen Elizabeth's reign denied the Queen's right to interfere with the House of Commons, and thus got himself into trouble. He was several times imprisoned for his plain speaking. Soon after his entrance into Parliament (1571) he made a remarkable speech against Sir Humphrey Gilbert. On Feb. 8, 1576, he delivered a memorable speech on the liberties of the House, for which he was punished by sequestration and by confinement for a month in the Tower. In 1587, further efforts of Wentworth in behalf of free speech and parliamentary privilege again resulted in his committal to the Tower for a brief while. In 1593, Wentworth, with Bromley, presented a petition regarding the succession to the crown, which so incensed the Queen that both were sent to the Tower, and there, while still a prisoner, Wentworth died, Nov. 10, 1596, at the age of sixty-six. During his imprisonment he wrote "A Pithie Exhortation to Her Majestie for Establishing her Successor to the Crowne." Wentworth's views were those of the then Puritan party, and he is an interesting figure as the forerunner of Pym, Eliot, and Hampden. He lived in the era of monopolies, let out for substantial returns by the Crown, and did good work on behalf of Parliament, not yet escaped from the strong rule of the Tudor Kings and Queens.

SPEECH IN BEHALF OF THE LIBERTIES OF PARLIAMENT

[This speech, delivered in the House of Commons, Feb. 8, 1576, is the first and most important sign of the growing power of Parliament under the Tudor sovereigns. Wentworth was a prominent Puritan member, very determined and courageous, and in this speech he boldly attacks the Crown for encroachments on the privileges of the House of Commons.]

MR. SPEAKER,—I find in a little volume these words, in effect: "Sweet is the name of Liberty, but the thing itself is a value beyond all inestimable treasure."

So much the more it behoveth us lest we, contenting ourselves with the sweetness of the name, lose and forego the thing, being of the greatest value that can come unto this noble realm. The inestimable treasure is the use of it in this House. And therefore I do think it needful to put you in remembrance that this honorable assembly are assembled and come together here in this place for three special causes of most weighty and great importance. The first and principal is to make and abrogate such laws as may be most for the preservation of our

(457).

noble sovereign; the second . . . ; the third is to make or abrogate such laws as may be the chiefest surety, safe-keeping, and enrichment of this noble realm of England. So that I do think that the part of the faithful-hearted subject is to do his endeavor to remove all stumbling-blocks out of the way that may impair or any manner of way hinder these good and godly causes of this our coming together. I was never of Parliament but the last, and the last session, at both of which times I saw the liberty of free speech, the which is the only salve to heal all the sores of this Commonwealth, so much and so many ways infringed, and so many abuses offered to this honorable council, as hath much grieved me, even of very conscience and love to my prince and State. Wherefore, to avoid the like, I do deem it expedient to open the commodities that grow to the prince and the whole State by free speech used in this place; at least, so much as my simple wit can gather it, the which is very little in respect of that that wise heads can say therein, and so it is of more force. First, all matters that concern God's honor, through free speech, shall be propagated here and set forward, and all things that do hinder it removed, repulsed, and taken away.

Next, there is nothing commodious, profitable, or any way beneficial for the prince or State but faithful and loving subjects will offer it to this place.

Thirdly, all things discommodious, perilous, or hurtful to the prince or State shall be prevented, even so much as seemeth good to our merciful God to put into our minds, the which no doubt shall be sufficient if we do earnestly call upon him and fear him (for Solomon saith, "The fear of God is the beginning of wisdom. Wisdom breatheth life into her children, receiveth them that seek her, and will go beside them in the way of righteousness,") so that our minds shall be

directed to all good, needful, and necessary things, if we call upon God with faithful hearts.

Fourthly, if the envious do offer anything hurtful or perilous, what inconvenience doth grow thereby? Verily, I think none; nay, will you have me to say my simple opinion thereof—much good cometh thereof. How, forsooth? Why, by the darkness of the night the brightness of the sun showeth more excellent and clear; and how can truth appear and conquer until falsehood and all subtleties that should shadow and darken it are found out? For it is offered in this place as a piece of fine needlework to them that are most skilful therein, for there cannot be a false stitch (God aiding us) but will be found out.

Fifthly, this good cometh thereof — a wicked purpose may the easier be prevented when it is known.

Sixthly, an evil man can do the less harm when it is known.

Seventhly, sometime it happeneth that a good man will in this place (for argument's sake) prefer an evil cause, both for that he would have a doubtful truth to be opened and manifested, and also the evil prevented. So that to this point I conclude that in this House, which is termed a place of free speech, there is nothing so necessary for the preservation of the prince and State as free speech; and without this it is a scorn and mockery to call it a Parliament House, for in truth it is none but a very school of flattery and dissimulation, and so a fit place to serve the devil and his angels in, and not to glorify God and benefit the Commonwealth.

Now, to the impediments thereof, which by God's grace and my little experience I will utter plainly and faithfully. I will use the words of Elcha —“ Behold, I am as the new wine which has no vent, and bursteth the new vessels in sunder; therefore I will speak that I may have a vent. I

will open my lips and make answer. I will regard no manner of person, no man will I spare; for if I go about to please men I know not how soon my Maker will take me away." My text is vehement, which by God's sufferance I mean to observe, hoping therewith to offend none; for that of very justice none ought to be offended for seeking to do good and saying of the truth.

Among other, Mr. Speaker, two things do great hurt in this place, of which I do mean to speak. The one is a rumor which runneth about the House, and this it is: "Take heed what you do; the Queen liketh not such matter; whoever preferreth it, she will be offended with him." Or the contrary: "Her Majesty liketh of such matter; whoever speaketh against it, she will be much offended with him." The other — sometimes a message is brought into the House, either of commanding or inhibiting, very injurious to the freedom of speech and consultation. I would to God, Mr. Speaker, that these two were burned in hell — I mean rumors and messages, for wicked they undoubtedly are. The reason is, the devil was the first author of them, from whom proceedeth nothing but wickedness.

Now I will set down reasons to prove them wicked. For if we be in hand with anything for the advancement of God's glory, were it not wicked to say the Queen liketh not of it or commandeth that we shall not deal in it? Greatly were these speeches to Her Majesty's dishonor; and an hard opinion were it, Mr. Speaker, that these things should enter into her Majesty's thought. Much more wicked were it that her Majesty should like or command anything against God or hurtful to herself and the State. The Lord grant that this thing may be far from her Majesty's heart! Here this may be objected, that if the Queen's Majesty have intelligence of

anything perilous or beneficial to her Majesty's person or the State, would you not have her Majesty give knowledge thereof to the House, whereby her peril may be prevented and her benefit provided for? God forbid! Then were her Majesty in worse case than any of her subjects.

And, in the beginning of our speech, I showed it to be a special cause of our assembling; but my intent is that nothing should be done to God's dishonor, to her Majesty's peril, or the peril of the State. And therefore I will show the inconveniences that grow of these two. First, if we follow not the prince's mind, Solomon saith: "The king's displeasure is a messenger of death."

This is a terrible thing to weak nature; for who is able to abide the fierce countenance of his prince? But if we will discharge our consciences, and be true to God and prince and State, we must have due consideration of the place and the occasion of our coming together, and especially have regard unto the matter wherein we both shall serve God and our prince and State faithfully, and not dissembling as eye-pleasers, and so justly avoid all displeasures both to God and our prince; for Solomon saith, "In the way of the righteous there is life."

As for any other way, it is the path to death. So that, to avoid everlasting death and condemnation with the high and mighty God, we ought to proceed in every cause according to the matter, and not according to the prince's mind. And now I will show you a reason to prove it perilous always to follow the prince's mind. Many a time it falleth out that a prince may favor a cause perilous to himself and the whole State. What are we then if we follow the prince's mind? Are we not unfaithful unto God, our prince, and State?

' Yes, truly; we are chosen of the whole realm, of a special

trust and confidence by them reposed in us, to foresee all such inconveniences. Then I will set down my opinion herein; that is to say, he that dissembleth to her Majesty's peril to be accounted as a hateful enemy, for that he giveth unto her Majesty a detestable Judas's kiss; and he that contrarieth her mind to her preservation, yea, though her Majesty would be much offended with him, is to be judged an approved lover.

For "faithful are the wounds of a lover," saith Solomon; "but the kisses of an enemy are deceitful." "And 'tis better," saith Antisthenes, "to fall among ravens than among flatterers; for ravens do but devour the dead corpse, and flatterers the living." And it is both traitorous and hellish, through flattery, to seek to devour our natural prince; and that do flatterers. Therefore let them leave it with shame enough.

Now to another great matter that riseth of this grievous rumor. What is it, forsooth? Whatsoever thou art that pronounceth it, thou doth pronounce thy own discredit. Why so? For that thou doth what lieth in thee to pronounce the prince to be perjured, the which we neither will nor may believe. For we ought not, without too manifest proof, to credit any dishonor to our anointed. No; we ought not without it to think any evil of her Majesty, but rather to hold him a liar, what credit soever lie be of; for the Queen's Majesty is the head of the law, and must of necessity maintain the law, for by the law her Majesty is made justly our queen, and by it she is most chiefly maintained.

Hereunto agreeth the most excellent words of Bracton, who saith, "The king hath no peer or equal in his kingdom." He hath no equal, for otherwise he might lose his authority of commanding, since that an equal hath no power of commandment over an equal. The king ought not to be under

man, but under God, and under the law, because the law maketh him a king. Let the king, therefore, attribute that the law attributeth unto him, that is, dominion and power; for he is not a king in whom will and not the law doth rule; and therefore he ought to be under the law. I pray you mark the reason why my authority saith the king ought to be under the law; for, saith he, "He is God's vicegerent upon earth;" that is, his lieutenant to execute and do his will, the which is law or justice, and thereunto was her Majesty sworn at her coronation, as I have heard learned men in this place sundry times affirm.

Unto which I doubt not her Majesty will, for her honor and conscience' sake, have special regard; for free speech and conscience in this place are granted by a special law, as that without the which the prince and State cannot be preserved or maintained. So that I would wish that every man that feareth God, regardeth the prince's honor, or esteemeth his own credit, to fear at all times hereafter to pronounce any such horrible speeches so much to the prince's dishonor, for in so doing he showeth himself an open enemy to her Majesty, and so worthy to be condemned of all faithful hearts.

Yet there is another inconvenience that riseth of this wicked rumor. The utterers thereof seem to put into our heads that the Queen's Majesty both conceived an evil opinion, diffidence, and mistrust in us, her faithful and loving subjects; for, if she hath not, her Majesty would wish that all things dangerous to herself should be laid open before us, assuring herself that loving subjects as we are would, without schooling and direction, with careful mind to our powers, prevent and withstand all perils that might happen unto her Majesty.

And this opinion I doubt not but her Majesty hath conceived of us; for undoubtedly there was never prince, surely

there were never subjects, had more cause heartily to love, that hath faithfuller hearts, than her Majesty hath here, and their prince for her quiet government than we have. So that he that raiseth this rumor still increaseth but discredit in seeking to sow sedition as much as lieth in him between our merciful queen and us her loving and faithful subjects, the which, by God's grace, shall never lie in his power; let him spit out all his venom, and therewithal show out his malicious heart. and detestable rumor, and the utterer thereof to be a very Yet I have collected sundry reasons to prove this a hateful Judas to our noble queen. Therefore let any hereafter take heed how he publish it, for as a very Judas unto her Majesty, and an enemy to the whole State, we ought to accept him.

Now, the other was a message, Mr. Speaker, brought the last session into the House that we should not deal in any matters of religion, but first to receive from the bishops. Surely this was a doleful message; for it was as much as to say, "Sirs, ye shall not deal in God's causes; no! ye shall no wise seek to advance his glory!" And, in recompense of your unkindness, God in his wrath will look upon your doings that the chief cause that ye were called together for, the which is the preservation of their prince, shall have no success. If some one of this House had presently made this interpretation of this said message, had he not seemed to have the spirit of prophecy? Yet, truly I assure you, Mr. Speaker, there were divers of this House that said with grievous hearts, immediately upon the message, that God of his justice could not prosper the session. And let it be holden for a principle, Mr. Speaker, that council that cometh not together in God's name cannot prosper. For God saith, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst amongst them."

Well, God, even the great and mighty God, whose name is the Lord of Hosts, great in council and infinite in thought, and who is the only good Director of all Hearts, was, the last session, shut out of doors! But what fell out of it, forsooth? His great indignation was therefore poured upon this House; for he did put into the Queen's Majesty's heart to refuse good and wholesome laws for her own preservation, the which caused many faithful hearts for grief to burst out with sorrowful tears, and moved all Papists, traitors to God and her Majesty, who envy good Christian government, in their sleeves to laugh all the whole Parliament House to scorn. And shall I pass over this weighty matter so lightly? Nay! I will discharge my conscience and duties to God, my prince, and country. So certain it is, Mr. Speaker, that none is without fault, no, not our noble Queen, sith then her Majesty hath committed great fault, yea, dangerous faults to herself.

Love, even perfect love, void of dissimulation, will not suffer me to hide them to her Majesty's peril, but to utter them to her Majesty's safety. And these they are: It is a dangerous thing in a prince unkindly to abuse his or her nobility and people; and it is a dangerous thing in a prince to oppose or bend herself against her nobility and people, yea, against most loving and faithful nobility and people. And how could any prince more unkindly entreat, abuse and oppose herself against her nobility and people than her Majesty did the last Parliament? Did she call of purpose to prevent traitorous perils to her person, and for no other cause? Did not her Majesty send unto us two bills, willing us to make choice of that we liked best for her safety, and thereof to make a law, promising her Majesty's assent thereunto? And did we not first choose the one, and her Majesty refused it, yield-

ing no reason; nay, yielding great reasons why she ought to have yielded to it?

Yet did we nevertheless receive the other, and, agreeing to make a law thereof, did not her Majesty in the end refuse all our travails? And did not we, her Majesty's faithful nobility and subjects, plainly and openly decipher ourselves unto her Majesty and our hateful enemies, and hath not her Majesty left us all open to their revenge? Is this a just recompense in our Christian Queen for our just dealings? The heathen do requite good for good; then how much more is it to be expected in a Christian prince? And will not this her Majesty's handling, think you, Mr. Speaker, make cold dealing in any of her Majesty's subjects toward her again? I fear it will. And hath it not caused many already, think you, Mr. Speaker, to seek a salve for the head that they have broken? I fear it hath; and many more will do the like if it be not prevented in time. And hath it not marvellously rejoiced and encouraged the hollow hearts of her Majesty's hateful enemies and traitorous subjects? No doubt but it hath.

And I beseech God that her Majesty may do all things that may grieve the hearts of her enemies, and may joy the hearts that unfeignedly love her Majesty; and I beseech the same God to endue her Majesty with his wisdom, whereby she may discern faithful advice from traitorous, sugared speeches, and to send her Majesty a melting, yielding heart unto sound counsel, that will may not stand for a reason; and then her Majesty will stand where her enemies have fallen; for no estate will stand where the prince will not be governed by advice. And I doubt not but that some of her Majesty's council have dealt plainly and faithfully with her Majesty herein. If any have, let it be a sure sign to her Majesty to know them for approved

subjects; and whatsoever they be that did persuade her Majesty so unkindly to entreat, abuse, and to oppose herself against her nobility and people, or commend her Majesty for so doing, let it be a sure token to her Majesty to know them for sure traitors and underminers of her Majesty's life, and remove them out of her Majesty's presence and favor; for, the more cunning they are the more dangerous they are unto her Majesty. But was this all? No; for God would not vouchsafe that his Holy Spirit should all that session descend upon our bishops; so that in that session nothing was done to the advancement of his glory.

I have heard of old Parliament men that the tarnishment of the Pope and Popery and the restoring of true religion had their beginning from this House, and not from the bishops; and I have heard that few laws for religion had their foundation from them. And I do surely think — before God I speak it! — that the bishops were the cause of that doleful message. And I will show you what moveth me so to think. I was, among others, the last Parliament, sent unto the Bishop of Canterbury for the Articles of Religion that then passed this House. He asked us why we did put out of the book the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such like.

"Surely, sir," said I, "because we were so occupied with other things that we had no time to examine them how they agreed with the Word of God."

"What!" said he, "surely you mistook the matter; you will refer yourself wholly to us therein?"

"No! by the faith I bear to God," said I, "we will pass nothing until we understand what it is; for that were but to make you popes. Make you popes who list," said I, "for we will make you none."

And sure, Mr. Speaker, the speech seemed to me a pope-

like speech; and I fear lest our bishops do attribute this of the Pope's canons unto themselves, "*Papa non potest errare*;"¹ for surely, if they did not, they would reform things amiss, and not to spurn against God's people for writing therein as they do.

But I can tell them news: they do but kick against the pricks; for undoubtedly they both have and do err; for God will reveal his truth maugre the hearts of them and all his enemies; for great is the truth and it will prevail. And, to say the truth, it is an error to think that God's spirit is tied only in them; for the Heavenly Spirit saith: "First seek the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all these things (meaning temporal) shall be given you."

These words were not spoken to the bishops only, but to all. And the writ, Mr. Speaker, that we are called up by, is chiefly to deal in God's cause, so that our commission, both from God and our prince, is to deal in God's causes. Therefore the accepting of such messages, and taking them in good part, do highly offend God, and is the acceptation of the breach of the liberties of this honorable council. For is it not all one thing to say, sirs, "you shall deal in such matters only," as to say "you shall not deal in such matters"? and is as good to have fools and flatterers in the House as men of wisdom, grave judgment, faithful hearts, and sincere consciences; for they, being taught what they shall do, can give their consents as well as others.

Well, "He that hath an office," saith St. Paul, "let him wait on his office," or give diligent attendance on his office. It is a great and special part of our office, Mr. Speaker, to maintain the freedom and consultation of speech; for by this good laws that do set forth God's glory, and for the preser-

¹ "The Pope cannot err."

vation of the prince and State, are made. St. Paul, in the same place, saith: "Hate that which is evil, cleave unto that which is good."

Then with St. Paul I do advise you all here present, yea, and heartily and earnestly desire you, from the bottom of your hearts, to hate all messengers, tale-carriers, or any other thing, whatsoever it be, that any way infringes the liberties of this honorable council; yea, hate it or them as poisonous unto our Commonwealth, for they are venomous beasts that do use it. Therefore, I say unto you again and again, "Hate that which is evil, and cling unto that which is good."

And thus, being loving and faithful-hearted, I do wish to be conceived in fear of God and love of our prince and state; for we are incorporated into this place to serve God and all England, and not to be time-servers, as humor-feeders, as cancers that would pierce the bone, or as flatterers that would fain beguile all the world, and so worthy to be condemned both of God and man; but let us show ourselves a people endued with faith, I mean a lively faith that bringeth forth good works, and not as dead.

And these good works I wish to break forth in this sort, not only in hating the enemies before spoken against, but also in openly reproving them as enemies to God, our prince, and state, that do use them, for they are so. Therefore I would have none spared or forborne that shall from henceforth offend herein, of what calling soever he be; for the higher place he hath the more harm he may do. Therefore, if he will not eschew offences, the higher I wish him hanged.

I speak this in charity, Mr. Speaker; for it is better that one should be hanged than that this noble State should be subverted. Well, I pray God with all my heart to turn the hearts of all the enemies of our prince and State, and to for-

give them that wherein they have offended; yea, and to give them grace to offend therein no more. Even so, I do heartily beseech God to forgive us for holding our peace when we have heard any inquiry offered to this honorable council; for surely it is no small offence, Mr. Speaker, for we offend therein against God, our prince, and State, and abuse the confidence by them reposed in us. Wherefore God, for his great mercies' sake, grant that we may from henceforth show ourselves neither bastards nor dastards therein, but that as rightly-begotten children we may sharply and boldly reprove God's enemies, our princes, and State; and so shall every one of us discharge our duties in this our high office wherein he hath placed us, and show ourselves haters of evil and cleavers to that that is good to the setting forth of God's glory and honor, and to the preservation of our noble Queen and Commonwealth, for these are the marks that we ought only in this place to shoot at.

I am thus earnest — I take God to witness — for conscience' sake, love unto my prince and Commonwealth, and for the advancement of justice; "for justice," saith an ancient father, "is the prince of all virtues," yea, the safe and faithful guard of man's life, for by it empires, kingdoms, people, and cities be governed, the which, if it be taken away, the society of man cannot long endure. And a king, saith Solomon, "that sitteth in the throne of judgment, and looketh well about him, chaseth away all evil;" in the which State and throne God, for his great mercies' sake, grant that our noble Queen may be heartily vigilant and watchful; for surely there was a great fault committed both in the last Parliament and since also that was, as faithful hearts as any were unto the prince and State received most displeasure, the which is but a hard point in policy to encourage the enemy, to discourage the faithful-

hearted, who of fervent love cannot dissemble, but follow the rule of St. Paul, who saith, "Let love be without dissimulation."

Now to another great fault I found the last Parliament committed by some of this House also, the which I would desire of them all might be left. I have seen right good men in other causes, although I did dislike them in that doing, sit in an evil matter against which they had most earnestly spoken. I mused at it, and asked what it meant, for I do think it a shameful thing to serve God, their prince, or country, with the tongue only and not with the heart and body. I was answered that it was a common policy in this House to mark the best sort of the same, and either to sit or arise with them. That same common policy I would gladly have banished this house, and have grafted in the stead thereof either to rise or sit as the matter giveth cause; "for the eyes of the Lord behold all the earth, to strengthen all the hearts of them that are whole with him." These be God's own words; mark them well, I heartily beseech you all; for God will not receive half-part; he will have the whole. And again, He misliketh these two-faced gentlemen, and here be many eyes that will to their great shame behold their double-dealing that use it. Thus I have holden you long with my rude speech, the which since it tendeth wholly with pure conscience to seek the advancement of God's glory, our honorable sovereign's safety, and to the sure defence of this noble isle of England, and all by maintaining of the liberties of this honorable council, the fountain from whence all these do spring — my humble and hearty suit unto you all is to accept my good will, and that is that I have here spoken out of conscience and great zeal unto my prince and state may not be buried in the pit of oblivion, and so no good come thereof.

PYM



JOHN PYM, a great Puritan statesman and parliamentary leader, the impeacher of Strafford in the Long Parliament, was born at Brymore, Somersetshire, England, in 1584, and died at London, Dec. 8, 1643. Entering Parliament in 1621, he there opposed the arbitrary measures of the Crown, and was among the first of his era to take a firm stand in the struggle of constitutional rule against despotic power. He thus became not only one of the greatest men of the Opposition, but one of the most notable statesmen in English history. Such was the foremost of the men, until the rise of Cromwell, the great leader of the independents, whom Charles and his minister Buckingham were now to encounter. In 1626, when royal encroachment on parliamentary rights grew, Pym took a leading part in the impeachment of Buckingham, the charges of oppression and extortion being powerfully summed up at the bar of the House of Lords by Sir John Eliot. At the opening of the Long Parliament, Pym conducted the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford (Thomas Wentworth), for having plotted with Archbishop Laud to subvert the constitution and make Charles I an absolute monarch. Strafford went to his doom, deserted by the king whom he had only too faithfully served. Following this came the arrest of the Five Members of the Commons, Pym being one of the illegally seized, and this precipitated civil war. He was however brought back in triumph to Westminster, but died at the close of the following year.

SPEECH AGAINST STRAFFORD

[Delivered to the lords in Parliament, sitting in Westminster Hall, the 12th of April, 1641, after the recapitulation of the charge of treason against the Earl of Strafford.]

MY LORDS,—There hath been much time spent to prove our charge, and your lordships have heard my lord of Strafford's defence with as much patience. You have also heard our evidence summed up, whereby we have proved that he hath by traitorous words, counsels and actions traitorously endeavored to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and, instead thereof, to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government against law. This, my lords, is that poisonous arrow that hath tainted his blood, this is that cup of deadly wine that hath intoxicated him.

My lords, it comes to my share to show you how mischievous an act of treason it is by that law that he hath appealed unto,

which is the supreme law, 'to wit, public good; for his position was this, that *salus populi* is *suprema lex*. All laws are derived from this as its fountain, and end here as its proper centre. And those actions that are opposite to this are against law.

First, my lords, it is such an offence as comprehends all offences, such a treason as comprehends all treasons.

The earth, my lords, is a seminary of all flowers, so is this a seminary of all offences.

My lords, this law puts a difference betwixt good and evil: take away the law, my lords, and nature becomes a law to itself. As pride will be a law, lust will be a law, rapine a law, treason a law, which laws have ruled in Ireland ever since my lord came thither.

Take away the king's protection from the people, and you take away the people's allegiance to the king. Prerogative is the bounds of liberty; and, my lords, they must not contest one against another.

My lords, I beseech you consider, you have all under this custody; and, if you take away this, you take away your goods, liberties, and lives.

My lord he saith that Ireland was a conquered nation. Why, were not all nations conquered? England, Wales, etc.?

The next is this; that it is an offence full of danger to the king's person and crown, it nourisheth dissension and tumults in a people. If you consider the histories of the nations under arbitrary government, you shall find them full of cruelty and bloody massacres; yea, if you please to peruse our English histories, you shall find that, when arbitrary government was set up, how many kings fell by cruel and bloody hands, which is fearful to relate.

Thirdly, my lords, it is dangerous to the king: first, in

respect of his honor; secondly, in respect of his profit; and, thirdly, in respect of his greatness: yet all these have been put on upon the face of this treason as so many vizards. Can it be, my lords, for the king's honor, to have his ministers to lay all the fault upon the king? To kill, to imprison, to use rapine, to levy war against his people, and to ruin the State, and then all these dishonorable acts to be laid on the king? Is this for the king's honor?

Secondly, it is contrary to his profit; for, if there be not an affectionate supply from the people to the king, he can never grow in his revenue.

Nay, this, my lords, is the king's most certain revenue, that issues from the affection of his people; for other revenue, as lands or the like, are subject to many inconveniences, to many subtractions and pensions, but this is free and wholly to himself. These fourteen years past, since there hath been an unhappy cessation of Parliamentary proceedings, the king hath had less revenue and it doth him less good.

Nay, there hath been more wanting to the king than many years before. Again, it is unprofitable, and that is worse, for the king lost by it; for it hath cost him these two years more than it cost Queen Elizabeth in all her wars in Ireland and Spain,—yea, I fear, more than is to be repaired in an age.

Thirdly, in point of greatness: the world is a society of kingdoms, and it is not enough for a king to be great at home, but to equal his fellow princes abroad; nay, to be above them in honor and majesty, in riches and glory.

But, my lords, these counsels of late that have been given his Majesty have rendered him contemptible to his enemies, useless to his distressed friends, and, had they not been prevented, in time would have made him incapable of any design at home or abroad.

A fourth consideration is this, my lords: it is destructive to wealth and valor; it corrupts our peace, and in peace makes us have the malignities of war; and for wealth who will venture his goods, life, his liberty, in the way of trading and commerce, when he knows not upon the return of it whether it be his own or not?

Nay, my lords, it imbaseth the spirits and valor of a nation when they must stand in fear of pilloring, scaffolding, and the like punishments; it makes men to be of base spirits.

Now, my lords, to imbase the king's coin, if it be but sixpence or twelpence, 'tis treason by the law, and a man must die for it. What is it, then, to imbase our spirits, my lords? Truly it is a matter of great importance.

Fifthly, it doth disable the king and makes him unfit to deal with foreign enemies; for every one thinks to slip his neck out of the collar when he shall be forced to it.

The sixth consideration is that it is against the covenant betwixt the king and his people.

Before, my lords, I spoke of a legal oath, but now I speak of a personal, for we swear our allegiance to him, and he the maintenance of our laws to us; he is our husband, and we his wife; he is our father, and we his children; he is to maintain our liberties, and we his dignities and our duties.

And, my lords, Justice Thorpe was condemned and executed for breaking the king's oath. My lords, he broke not his own oath, nor did the king break his oath; and yet for violating that oath that the king had taken to his subjects he suffered.

Ah, what an unfortunate man, then, is the prisoner at the bar, that hath in all his counsels, in all his words, in all his actions, broken the king's oath, and as much as in him lay, violently persuaded the king to countenance him in all his actions!

The seventh consideration is this, my lords: it is against the end of government, for the end of government is to preserve men in their estates, lives, and liberties; but an arbitrary power destroys all this. The end of government is to advance virtue and goodness and to punish vice: but this cherisheth all disorder.

Now, my lords, I come to show the vanity of his excuses that he hath made for himself.

The first is the liberty of giving counsel, being a counsellor. True, my lords, he hath this liberty, but it is bounded within its lists, and it must be such a counsel as must stand with the sacred Majesty and the prosperity and weal of his subjects; for, if counsel be bad, it poisons the consciences of princes, it infects their ears, for all government proceeds from the prince, as from a fountain. Now, if the fountain be poisoned, how can the streams be free?

A second shift is that he hopes your lordships will be careful to secure your posterity and not to admit of this as treason.

My lords, I know your lordships will be careful to secure yourselves, but by your virtues, not by your vices.

The third excuse is the goodness of his intentions. Truly, my lords, good and evil lie close together, not easily to be discerned, if they be natural corruptions; but for murders, adultery, rapines, and treasons, these are so monstrous that they may easily be distinguished.

And I cannot be persuaded that ever he intended well that acted so ill.

The fourth excuse is the king's necessities.

My lords, this necessity came from his own counsels.

A fifth excuse is that it was for the king's honor and the maintenance of the king's power.

My lords, it hath been declared unto you that the king's power doth not extend to anything against law by which he

hath sworn to rule us and to maintain our liberties and privileges for us; and this hath been declared by five Parliaments, and also will appear in the case of the Petition of Right, and in the case of ship-money.

A sixth is that he advised the king to do it with moderation and reparation.

My lords, this is a contradiction; for there can be no reparation for this.

The seventh excuse is that no horrid facts did follow his counsels. Truly, my lords, we thank God, his sacred Majesty, and his wise counsel for that, or else God knows what fearful things would have befallen us; nor are we free from it as yet.

To conclude now, my lords, give me leave to entreat you to consider the treasons ordinarily practised. When the act is done, they cease, as in killing that noble king of France, and the several plots against Queen Elizabeth; but this treason of my lord of Strafford's is a standing treason, which, when it had been done, it had been permanent from generation to generation.

And now, my lords, these laws that he would have overthrown must now be his judges, and he is to be judged by law; and that law will have mark enough of it to describe it, for it is a law against such as break the fundamental law of the kingdom.

And, my lords, give me leave to inform you that under favor this is not to make a new way for blood; nor is the crime of treason in my lord of Strafford the less because none would venture upon such a horrid treason in two hundred and forty years.

But, my lords, for the making of our charge good by law, as we have fully proved it by testimony, we must resort to counsel with the House of Commons and trust to your lordships' justice.

